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II.—*Notes on a March from Zoháb, at the foot of Zagros, along the mountains to Khúzistán (Susiana), and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmánsháh, in the year 1836.*
By Major RAWLINSON, of the Bombay Army, serving in Persia. Communicated by Viscount PALMERSTON.

[Read the 14th and 28th January, 1838.]

PASHALIK OF ZOHAB.—Zoháb is a district of considerable extent, lying at the foot of the ancient Zagros. It is bounded on the N.W. by the course of the river Diyálah, on the E. by the mountains, and on the S. by the stream of Holwán. It formed one of the ten páshálik dependent upon Baghdád, until about thirty years ago, when Moḥammed 'Alí Mírzá, prince of Kirmánsháh,* annexed it to the crown of Persia. At the treaty concluded between Persia and the Porte, in 1823, it was stipulated that the districts acquired by either party during the war should be respectively surrendered, and that the ancient frontier-line should be restored, which had been established in the time of the Šafaví monarchs. According to a subsequent treaty, Zoháb ought certainly to have been given up to the Turkish authorities, but Persia had neither the will to render this act of justice, nor had the páshá of Baghdád the power to enforce it; and Zoháb, although still claimed by the Porte, has thus remained to the present day in possession of the government of Kirmánsháh.

Zoháb, having been acquired in war, is khálishah, or crown land. It has been usually farmed by the government of Kirmánsháh, at an annual rent of 8000 tó máns (4000*l.*), to the chief of the Gúrán tribe, whose hardy I'liyát inhabit the adjoining mountains, and are thus at all times ready to repel an attack of the 'Osmánlís. The amount of its revenues must depend, in a great measure, upon the value of rice and corn, its staple articles of produce; but in years of plenty, when the price of these commodities is at the lowest possible rate, a considerable surplus will still remain in the hands of the lessee. The revenue system in this district is simple, and more favourable to the cultivators than in most parts of Persia. It is thought derogatory to the chief to take any part of the cultivation into his own immediate hands. He distributes grain to his dependents, and at the harvest receives as his share of the produce—of rice, two-thirds; of corn, one-half. A greater share is always demanded from the cultivators of rice than of corn, in consequence of the water consumed in its irrigation, which is the property of the landlord or of government, and is rarely to be obtained without considerable expense and labour.

The rice-grounds of Zoháb are chiefly irrigated by an artificial

* More commonly Kirmán Sháhán.

canal, brought from the Holwán river, a distance of about 10 miles. The canal is said to have been an ancient work ; but was repaired and rendered available to its present purposes only about a hundred years ago, by the same páshá who subsequently built the town of Zoháb.

I was present for three years at Zoháb, in the time of harvest, and the revenues accruing to the chief averaged 10,000* tó máns annually, of which the following is a rough statement :—

From produce of rice, 2000 kharwárs,† at 2 tó máns per khr.	4000
Do. wheat and barley, 2500 kharwárs, at 1 tó máns per khr.	2500
Rent of the kárávánserāi of Sar Púl, which includes the transit-duty upon merchandise, and the profits arising from a monopoly of the sale of grain to the Kerbelái pilgrims	1000
Rent of the kárávánserāi of Kāsrī-Shírín	200
Contract for the dáróghah-garí‡ of Zoháb ; the emoluments of this arising from the rent of shops in the Zoháb bázár, and several petty items of taxation	800
Fees exacted from the I'liyát of Kurdistán, for permission to pasture their flocks during the winter in the grazing-grounds of Zoháb	1000
Growth of cotton, rent of mills, orchards, and melon-grounds, value of pasturage, &c. &c.	500
Total, tó máns,	10,000

Under the Turkish rule Zoháb yielded, with its dependencies, an annual sum of 30,000 tó máns ; but it then included several fertile and extensive districts, which are now detached from it ; and there were also above 2000 Ra'yats § resident upon the lands ; whereas at present this number is reduced to about 300 families ; and the great proportion of the cultivation is in the hands of the Gúrán I'liyát, who, after sowing their grain in the spring, move up to their summer pastures among the mountains, and leave only a few labourers in the plains to get in the crops. The soil of Zoháb is naturally very rich ; but owing to the little care bestowed on its cultivation, a tenfold return is considered as good. Manure is never employed to fertilise the lands. After the production of a rice-crop the soil is allowed to lie fallow for several years, in order to recover its strength, or is only sown with a light grain. The interval between two rice-crops upon the same ground is never less than seven years ; but even this is said to exhaust the soil. Wherever the extent of the lands will admit of it, an interval of fifteen years is allowed.

The grain of Zoháb is principally disposed of to Arab and

* The tó máns now current in Persia is equal to 10s. of English money.

† The kharwár (literally the load for an ass) is equivalent to 653 lbs.

‡ The dáróghah-garí is the office of dáróghah, or police-master.

§ Properly ri'ayyaṭ, i. e., non-muselmán subjects ; pronounced ra'yáh in Turkey.

Turkish traders from Baghdád. They buy it as it lies stacked upon the ground, and, conveying it to Baghdád upon mules and camels, without paying any export duty, realise a considerable profit. Scarcely a fifth part of the arable land in this district is now under cultivation; and certainly the revenues might be raised, with proper care, to ten times their present amount.

The town of Zoháb was built about a hundred years ago by a Turkish páshá, and the government continued to be hereditary in his family till the conquest of the páshálik by the Persians. The capital was surrounded by a mud wall, and may have at first contained about 1000 houses. From its frontier position, however, it has been exposed to constant spoliation in the wars between Turkey and Persia, and is now a mass of ruins, with scarcely 200 inhabited houses. There are about twenty families of Jews here, and the remainder are Kurds of the Sunní sect.

The geography of the district of Zoháb will be best understood by a reference to the accompanying map. At the northern extremity of the district of Zoháb is the little plain of Semírám, a natural fastness of the most extraordinary strength, which is formed by a range of lofty and precipitous mountains, extending in a semicircle from the river Diyálah, here called the A'bi-Shírwán, and enclosing an area of about 8 miles in length, and 4 in breadth. The A'bi-Shírwán is only fordable in this part of its course for a few months in the year; and the passes of the mountain-barrier of Semírám may be defended by a handful of men against any numbers that can be brought against them. Semírám is inhabited by detached tribes of Sharaf-Báýinís, Yezdán-Bakhshís,* and Arabs, who yield allegiance to Suleimáníyah, or Zoháb, as the chief of either place is for the time enabled to enforce his authority. The proper boundary, however, between Suleimáníyah and Zoháb is the Shírwán river. The early part of the course of this river has been laid down most incorrectly in the maps hitherto published. It is usually believed to take its rise at Suleimáníyah, but this is erroneous. The real source of the Diyálah is at Sangur nearly 2 degrees of longitude E. of Suleimáníyah: it is crossed on the road between Kirmánsháh and Síhneh, and, receiving afterwards numerous petty streams from the mountains of Sháhú and A'vrommán,† it becomes a considerable river. Its direction is here W., inclining to the N. Forcing its way among the mountains, it reaches the remarkable defile of Darnah, where are the ruins of a town and castle, which, on account of their very advantageous position, seem to have acquired some consequence as the stronghold of the rulers of the surrounding country. Darnah is men-

* Given by God.

† Pomegranate-water.

tioned in the history of the Kurds* as one of the chief districts of Holwán; and the páshás of Zoháb retained up to the period of their extinction the title of Darnah beígí, or lord of Darnah. We may thus, with tolerable certainty, assign the Darna of Ptolemy† to this position; and if the Diyálah represents the ancient Gyndes, which, after much reflection, I am inclined to believe, then the διὰ Δαρνέων of Herodotus‡ will refer to the same place. Before it enters the plain of Semírám the A'bi-Shírwán receives, at Gúndár, a considerable stream called the Chami zamakán, which rises near Gahwárah, in the heart of the Gúrán country, and above the junction the Shírwán river is at all times fordable. It enters into the plain of Semírám by a tremendous gorge in the mountains, where there is no possibility of passing along its banks. In this plain it is joined from the right by the united streams of Zalm and Táj-rúd, the former flowing from Suleimáníyah, and the latter from the plain of Shahri-zúr. The confluence of these two streams takes place at a few miles' distance from the A'bi-Shírwán; but the united arms do not equal the main river by one-half. One of the few passes into the fastness of Semírám is along the banks of the river, where it emerges from the plain. The pathway, however, is in the bluff face of a precipice, and is only 2 or 3 feet in width, so that a loaded mule cannot pass it. Below this is the ford of Bánah-khilán, on the high-road between Suleimáníyah and Kirmánsháh. When I was there, at the end of May, the river had a breadth of about 120 yards, and the ford was not practicable: during the summer and autumn, however, it can be crossed without much difficulty. The A'bi-Shírwán now flows in a south-westerly direction through an open country, receiving various petty streams, both from the right and left to Bín-kudrah, where it was crossed by Rich; § and the lower part of its course to the Tigris is well known. It seems to have derived its title of Shírwán from a city of that name upon its banks, at the spot in the vicinity of Bín-kudrah, where Rich met with a remarkable dapah,|| or mound, still called Shírwánah. It only retains this title to the point of its junction with the Holwán river, near Kháníkín. Below that it is called the Diyálah. The eastern branch of the river was named the Shírwán as long ago as the fourteenth century.¶ Below the junction of the Holwán river it was at that time entitled the Támarrá; farther down it was called the Nahrawán;** and at the point of its confluence with the Tigris, the Diyálí.

* Sharaf Námah, or Tárikhi-Akrád.—Pers. MS.

† Ptol. lib. vi. chap. 1, p. 146 (39° 10' N. 86° E.).

‡ Lib. i. c. 189. [Δαρνέων is a conjectural emendation for Δαρδανέων.]

§ Rich's Kurdistan, vol. ii. p. 273.

|| Pronounced tapáh or tepéh.

¶ See Nuz-hafú-l Kulúb.—Pers. MS.

** The real *Nahrawán* (the *Nagbân* of the campaigns of Heraclius) was the great

But to return to Semírám. The name could not fail to call to my recollection the Assyrian queen, Semiramis, whom the ancients believed to have adorned Persia with many magnificent works of art. I therefore searched eagerly for ancient monuments; and though I failed to discover any in the plain itself, yet across the river, at the distance of about 3 farsakhs, on the road to Suleimáníyah, I heard of sculptures and statues which would well merit the attention of any future travellers in this country. The place is called Páí K'al'ah, the foot of the castle, or But Khánah, the idol temple. From the hills above Semírám, the plain of Shahri-zúr, with its numerous villages, is distinctly visible, and on a clear day the town of Suleimáníyah may be seen bearing N.W., at the distance of about 50 miles.

The western boundary of Semírám is formed by a prolongation of the chain called Kará-tágh,* through which the river forces its way by a narrow and precipitous cleft; to the south of the river the mountains rise up most abruptly and to a very considerable elevation, probably about 5000 feet above the plain, and from hence the range stretches in a succession of rocky heights for about 50 miles in a southerly direction till it is lost in the sand-hills to the west of Zoháb. These heights compose detached hill-forts of great strength: the three most considerable are named Sar-Khushk (the dry peak), Sar-Tak (the single or detached peak), and Bamú.† There are two roads from Semírám to Zoháb; the direct road leads across the range from the plain of Semírám into a hilly and richly-wooded valley named Pushti-kúh, which runs along upon the eastern face of Sar-Khushk, Sar-Tak, and Bamú, till it opens into the plain of Zoháb: it is difficult, and measures 45 miles: the other, ascending the Semírám mountains by the same pass, diverges at the summit to the right, and descends by a defile named the Tangi Mil‡ into the plain of Hershel, at the foot of Sar Khushk, upon its western face, and it here joins the high road from Suleimáníyah to Kirmánsháh. Hershel is a well-watered plain, but it is little cultivated, as it is exposed to constant forays from the Jáf I'liyát of Suleimáníyah, who have it in their power, at any time during the summer, to cross the river by the ford of Bánah-khilán, destroy the crops, and carry off the cattle of the Persian

canal derived from the Tigris at Sámara; but after this was destroyed, the Diyálah seems for a short time to have assumed the name. See Yákhúti, Abú'l-fedá, and Hámdu-llah Mustáúfi, author of the *Nuz-haṭu-l-kulúb*.

* The black mountains.

† All these names of hills in Kurdistán ending in *u* are contractions for *kúh*, "a hill,"—thus *Sháḥú*, *Dáláḥú*, *Darú*, and *Bamú*, should be *Sháh-kúh*, *Dálah-kúh*, *Dará-kúh*, and *Bamú-kúh*.

‡ *Mil*, in Kurd, signifies a defile; *Tangi Mil*, therefore, is "the pass of the defile."

ra'yats. Adjoining to the plain of Hershel, at the foot of Sar-Tak, is the plain of Húrín. At this place are found the ruins of a city of great extent and apparently of the most remote antiquity: the foundations of the buildings are now alone visible, composed of huge unhewn masses of stone, and exhibiting walls of the most extraordinary thickness. I have never seen a similar style of building in Persia; and connecting it with another circumstance, which I shall presently explain, I am inclined to believe Húrín to be a ruin of the Babylonian ages. The ignorant Kurds call the place *Shahri-Fadak*,* believing it to be the town of that name captured by Mohammed and bestowed upon Fátimah, and they attribute its demolition to 'Alí.† Behind the town, in a gorge of the mountains under the peak of Sar-Tak, is an old ruined fort, which must have been of great strength; it is built on a detached mass of rock, and could only have been ascended by ropes or ladders: it is called *Kal'ahi Gabr* (the Gabr castle), and, apparently, is a work of a much later age than the town in the plain.

To the S. of Húrín, at the distance of 2 farsakhs,‡ is the village of Sheikhán, so called from certain Sunnî dervishes here interred, whose tombs, surmounted with their white cupolas, and embosomed in orchards, form a very picturesque and agreeable object. In the mountain gorge which contains the village is a tablet sculptured upon the face of the rock, exhibiting the same device as is often seen on the Babylonian cylinders. A figure, clothed in a short tunic and armed with a strung bow in his left hand, a dagger in his right, and an axe in his girdle, tramples upon a prostrate foe of pigmy dimensions, whilst another diminutive figure kneels behind with his hands clasped, as if supplicating for mercy; a quiver of arrows placed erect stands by the side of the victor king, and the tablet is closed with a cuneiform inscription, divided into three compartments of four lines each, and written perpendicularly in the complicated Babylonian character, which I had never before seen, except upon bricks and cylinders. The tablet is of miniature dimensions, being only 2 feet in height and 5 in breadth; the execution is also rude, and the inscription, of which I have a copy, appears to be unfinished. I believe there is no relic of a similar nature existing in Persia, but it is chiefly interesting as tending to fix the era of the neighbouring town of Húrín, the identification of which, however, I confess myself quite at a loss to determine. From Sheikhán to

* The real *Shahri-Fadak* was in Arabia, two days' journey from Medfnah.

† Kurdistan is full of traditions regarding 'Alí, but we know from history that he never crossed the Tigris but once to fight the battle of *Nahrawán*.

‡ The farsakh is a very uncertain measurement, but in this part of Persia it may be valued at $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Zoháb the distance is 6 farsakhs; the road recrosses the range by a very easy pass called Sar-Kal'ah, and from thence traverses an open country to Zoháb. The distance from Semírám to Zoháb by this route, through Hershel, Húrín, and Sheikhán, is about 60 miles.

Immediately overhanging the town of Zoháb to the east is the fortress of Bán Zardah,* or, as it is sometimes called, Kalahi-Yezdijird. This is the stronghold of Holwán, to which Yezdijird, the last of the Sasanian kings, retreated after the capture of Ctesiphon by the Arabs, and it is a noble specimen of the labour which the monarchs of those ages bestowed upon their royal buildings. It is formed by a shoulder projecting westward from the mountain of Dáláhú, girt upon three sides by an inaccessible scarp, and defended upon the other, where alone it admits of attack, by a wall and dry ditch of colossal dimensions, drawn right across from one scarp to the other, a distance of above 2 miles: the wall is now in ruins, and the debris have fallen down into the ditch at its foot, but it still presents a line of defence of no ordinary description. The wall is flanked by bastions at regular intervals, and if an estimate may be formed from a part of it, which still preserves something of its original character, it would seem to have been about 50 feet in height and 20 in thickness; the edge of the scarp has also been faced all round with a wall of less dimensions. The hill itself is elevated very considerably above the plain of Zoháb, perhaps 2000 feet; the slope from the plain is most abrupt, and it is everywhere crowned by a scarp varying from 300 to 500 feet: the northern side of the hill is higher than the southern, and the table-land therefore of the fort, containing about 10 square miles, presents an inclined surface throughout. At the N.E. angle, where the scarp rises in a rocky ridge to its highest point and joins the mountain of Dáláhú, there is a pass which conducts into the fort, the ascent rising gradually along the shoulder; the whole way from the town of Zoháb is easy enough, but the descent on the other side into the table-land of the fort is by a most precipitous and difficult gorge. A wall has been thrown across the jaws of the pass; towers have been erected on either side to support it, and somewhat lower down the defile, where the jutting rocks nearly meet, two strong castles have been built opposite each other, which command the narrow entrance, and render it quite secure against attack. Altogether, this fortress may be considered to have been perfectly impregnable in an age when artillery was unknown. In the midst of the gorge is the tomb of Báhá Yádgár, the most holy

* *Bán*, in Kurdish, signifies "above," and is very commonly applied to hills; it is, perhaps, the same word as the Scotch *Ben*.

place among the Kurd mountains, to which I shall presently have again occasion to allude. Lower down there is a natural double cave in the rock, very difficult of access, which is called the *Harem-khánah* of *Shahr-bánú*, the daughter of *Yezdijird*, who afterwards became the wife of the *Imám Hasan*: it is a curious place, and looks like the grotto of a hermit. At the foot of the pass, where it opens upon the fort, is the little village of *Zardah*, surrounded by gardens which are watered by a delicious stream descending from the gorge. Near this there are the remains of two contiguous palaces, named the *Díwán-khánah* and *Harem khánah** of *Yezdijird*: the one is a quadrangular building of about 100 yards square, of which the foundations alone remain, and these are now nearly hidden by the gardens of the village of *Zardah*; the other is an enclosure of 350 paces in length by 150 in breadth; it contains the remains of numerous buildings, the principal of which is a low circular tower of solid masonry, which would seem as though intended for the base of a pavilion or some other temporary superstructure. The architecture of these buildings is in the same rude though massive style which has been described by *Rich* in his account of the ruins of *Kaşri-Shírín* and *Haúsh Kerek*,† and which, indeed, characterises all the *Sásánian* edifices in this part of *Persia*. The wall of *Bán-Zardah* seems alone to have had more than ordinary pains bestowed on it.

To the W. of *Zoháb*, and intervening between that plain and the *A'bi-Shírwán*, there is no inhabited place but the little hamlet of *Kaşri-Shírín*. The country is broken into a sea of sand-hills, and there is very little ground that would admit of cultivation; it affords winter pasturage, however, to the *Gúrán* and *Sinjábí* tribes, and the *I'liyát* from *Suléimáníyah*, and *Kurdistán* also, bring down their cattle to graze here. *Bín-ḡudrah*, although on the left bank of the *Shírwán*, and thus properly belonging to *Zoháb*, is considered a Turkish town, and pays its revenue to *Baghdád*. To the E., between *Zoháb* and the mountains, the country is more fertile. The *Holwán* river rises in the gorge of *Ríjáb*, on the western face of *Zagros*, about 20 miles E. of the town of *Zoháb*. It bursts in a full stream from its source, and is swollen by many copious springs as it pursues its way for 8 miles down this romantic glen. The defile of *Ríjáb* is one of the most beautiful spots that I have seen in the East; it is in general very narrow, scarcely 60 yards in width, closed in on either side by a line of tremendous precipices, and filled from one end to the other with gardens and orchards, through which the

* The *Diwán-khánah* is the outer palace or hall of audience; the *Harem-khánah* is the seraglio.

† *Rich's Kurdistan*, vol. ii. p. 264.

stream tears its foaming way with the most impetuous force until it emerges into the plain below at the foot of the fort of Bân Zardah; the village of Rījáb, containing about 100 houses, is situated in a little nook above the stream, where the glen widens into something like a bay: the inhabitants are all Sunnis, and they have a very holy and ancient mosque, supposed to have been built by 'Abdullah, the son of 'Omar. Rījáb is, from its situation, a place of great strength; it formerly was included in Zoháb, but now belongs, as private property, to the Gúrán chief. The peaches and figs which the gardens of Rījáb produce are celebrated throughout Persia; and it is to the latter that Yá-kút* alludes when he says, "the figs of Holwán are not to be equalled in the whole world."† The Holwán river, after it reaches the plain, is only fordable in the autumn months. On its right bank is the plain of Zoháb, upon its left the rich district of Bíshíwah, which stretches about 2 farsakhs in extent to the foot of the gates of Zagros, and is also the private property of the Gúrán chief. There are three roads conducting from Zoháb to Kirmánsháh, the one across the plain of Bíshíwah to the gates of Zagros, where it joins the high road from Baghdád, and ascends the pass of Táki-Gírráh to the plain of Kirrind. This pass, the great thoroughfare of communication in all ages between Media and Babylonia, is named in the maps Tac Ayacgui, or Lesotver. I am quite ignorant from whence such titles have been borrowed, for they are certainly neither known in the country nor have I met with them in any oriental author. By the geographers the pass is called 'Akabah-i-Holwán (the defile of Holwán), and among the Kurds, Gardanahi-Táki-Gírráh (the pass of Táki-Gírráh). The Táki-Gírráh, which signifies "the arch holding the road," is a solitary arch of solid masonry, built of immense blocks of white marble which is met with on the ascent of the mountain; it is apparently very ancient, and the name and position suggest the idea of a toll-house for the transit-duty upon merchandise crossing the Median frontier; it nearly assimilates, however, in situation to Mádaristán, which is described by the orientals as one of the palaces of Bahrám Gúr,‡ and it may possibly therefore have formed a part of it: it would also seem to denote the spot where Antiochus erected the body of the rebel Molon upon a cross.§

The second road from Zoháb conducts across the hill of

* But Yá-kút is not the author of the *Murášidu-l-ittílá'*.

† See *Murášidu-l-ittílá'*.—Arab MS.

‡ See *Murášidu-l-ittílá'* and *A'tháru-l-Balád*.—Arab MSS. This is the name that is given in the '*Geographia Nubiensis*,' p. 205, Madar and Asian (by an error of transcription for Máderástan, *i* being put for *t*).

§ Polyb. lib. v. c. 5.

Zardah to Ríjáb, up the defile to Bíwanj, a plain on the high table-land of Zagros, and from thence by Gahwárah, the residence of the Gúrán chief, and Máyidasht, to Kirmánsháh. The third, more northerly, crosses the mountains behind Dáláhu, and descends into the plain of Máyidasht by Bíyáma, Shámár, and Takhti-Gáh. I have travelled all the three routes, and laid them down accordingly in my map—the two last, however, are very difficult, and could never have been lines of general communication.

The climate of Zoháb is most unhealthy, particularly in the autumn, after the rice-crops have been gathered in, and the noxious gases, which were exhausted in the vegetation, diffuse themselves in the surrounding atmosphere. The soil is everywhere volcanic, and, as in the case of all the districts lying along the foot of this whole range of mountains, the waters appear to be either sulphureous or chalybeate. A spring in the gorge of Zardah affords the only good water in the neighbourhood, and whilst resident at Zoháb I always had a load of this water brought daily for my use.

The town of Zoháb has been usually considered the representative of the city of Holwán—but this is incorrect. The real site of Holwán, one of the eight primeval cities of the world, was at Sar-Púli-Zoháb, distant about 8 miles south of the modern town, and situated on the high road conducting from Baghdád to Kirmánsháh. This is the Calah of Asshur,* and the Halah of the Israelitish captivity.† It gave to the surrounding district the name of Chalonitis, which we meet with in most of the ancient geographers.‡ Isidore of Charax particularises the city, under the name of Chala,§ and the Emperor Heraclius appears to allude to the same place as Kalchas.||

By the Syrians, who established a metropolitan see at this place soon after the institution of the Nestorian hierarchy of Assyria, in the third century of Christ, it was named indifferently Calah—Halah—and Holwán;¶ to the Arabs and Persians it was alone known under the latter title. The etymological identity is, I believe, the best claim which Holwán possesses to be considered the representative of the Calah of Asshur; but, for its verification as the scene of the Samaritan captivity, there are many other curious and powerful reasons. We find in Strabo that this region along the skirts of Zagros was sometimes adjudged

* Gen. x. 11.

† 2 Kings xviii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 26.

‡ Strabo, lib. xvi. c. 1; Plin. lib. vi. c. 27; Polyb. lib. v. c. 5; Dionys. Per. v. 1014.

§ Geograph. Vet. Min. p. 5.

|| Pasch. Chron. ed. Dindorf., vol. i. p. 730; Tacitus (Ann. lib. vi. c. 41) alludes to the same place under the name of *Halus*.

¶ See Asseman, Bib. Orient. tom. iii. p. 346; tom. iv. p. 753.

to Media, and sometimes to Assyria,* and we are thus able to explain the dominion of Shalmaneser, the Assyrian king, over the cities of Media. Some of the Christian Arabs, in their histories, directly translate the Halah of the captivity by Ḥolwán.† Jewish traditions abound in this part of the country, and David is still regarded by the tribes as their great tutelar prophet. If the Samaritan captives can be supposed to have retained to the present day any distinct individuality of character, perhaps the Kalhurs tribe has the best claim to be regarded as their descendants. The Kalhurs, who are believed to have inhabited, from the remotest antiquity, these regions around Mount Zagros, preserve in their name the title of Calah. They state themselves to be descended from Rohám,‡ or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews; perhaps an obscure tradition of their real origin. They have many Jewish names amongst them, and, above all, their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of an Israelitish descent. The Iliyát of this tribe now mostly profess Mohammedanism; but a part of them, together with the Gúrâns, who acknowledge themselves to be an offset of the Kalhurs, and most of the other tribes of the neighbourhood, are still of the 'Alí-Iláhí persuasion—a faith which bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabæan, Christian, and Mohammedan legends. The tomb of Bába Yádgár, in the pass of Zardah, is their holy place; and this, at the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, was regarded as the abode of Elias.§ The 'Alí-Iláhís believe in a series of successive incarnations of the godhead, amounting to a thousand and one—Benjamin, Moses, Elias, David, Jesus Christ, 'Alí, and his tutor Salmán, a joint development, the Imám Husein, and the Haft-tan (the seven bodies), are considered the chief of these incarnations: the Haft-tan were seven Pírs, or spiritual guides, who lived in the early ages of Islám, and each, worshipped as the Deity, is an object of adoration in some particular part of Kurdistan—Bába Yádgár was one of these. The whole of the incarnations are thus regarded as one and the same person, the bodily form of the Divine manifestation being alone changed; but the most perfect development is supposed to have taken place in the persons of Benjamin, David, and 'Alí.

The Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, seems to have considered the whole of these 'Alí-Iláhís as Jews, and it is possible that in his time their faith may have been less corrupted. His

* Strabo, pp. 524, 736, 745.

† See Chron. Orient. translated by Abr. Echell, p. 25.

‡ Rohám, who is considered by most oriental writers identical with Bukhtu-n-Nasr, was the son of Gudarz, and brother of Giv. He is sometimes, however, confounded with Gudarz himself. See D'Herbelot in the titles Rohám and Gudarz.

§ See D'Herbelot in the titles Ḥolwán and Zerib Bar Elia.

mountains of Hhuphthon, where he places a hundred synagogues, are evidently Zagros; the name being borrowed from the Haft-tan of the 'Alí-Iláhís; and he states himself to have found some 50,000 families of Jews in the neighbourhood. Amaria, also, where the false Messias, David Elroi, appeared, with whose story the English reader is now familiar, was certainly in the district of Holwán. I am not quite sure from whence Benjamin derived this name Amaria; but there are some circumstances which lead me to believe the district of Holwán to have been called at one time 'Amrániyah; and the geographical indications will suit no other place. I must suppress, however, any further remarks on this very interesting subject of the identification of Holwán with the Halah of the captivity, and proceed to give some account of the antiquities which still exist there.

A long, narrow, rocky ridge extends from the mountain of Zagros westerly into the plain, bounding the district of Bishíwah to the S. Towards its western extremity, and 10 miles distant from the foot of Zagros, it is cleft by two narrow gorges about 2 miles asunder; the most westerly of these, through which flows the river of Holwán, forms a sort of gigantic portal to the city. Here, upon either side of the river, are tablets sculptured on the rock, two on the right bank and one on the left; the execution is most rude, and they are now nearly obliterated, yet sufficient is still visible of their design to denote with certainty a Sásánian origin. Upon rounding the gorge to the left, two other tablets are discovered, sculptured one over the other upon the face of the rock, which has been smoothed with the chisel for the purpose, to the height of about 50 feet. The lower is of the rudest possible description, and represents two figures, one on horseback and the other on foot, with a few lines of inscription on either side, in a character which is certainly Pehleví, but which is so different from any of the other various alphabets of that language that I am acquainted with, and is, at the same time, so very nearly obliterated, that I have failed to decipher the name of the king in whose honour it doubtless was executed.

The bas-relief above this Sásánian tablet is in a bold and well-executed style, and is immediately recognised, by one conversant with Persian antiquities, as a work of the Kayánian monarchs. It represents a figure in a short tunic and round cap, armed, with a shield upon his left arm, and a club resting upon the ground in his right, who tramples with his left foot upon a prostrate enemy; a prisoner with his hands bound behind him, equal in stature to the victor king, stands in front of him, and in the background are four naked figures kneeling in a suppliant posture, and of a less size, to represent the followers of the captive monarch; the platform upon which this group is disposed is sup-

ported on the heads and hands of a row of pigmy figures, in the same manner as we see at the royal tombs of Persepolis. The face of the tablet has been much injured by the oozing of water from the rock, but the execution is good, and evidently of the same age as the sculptures of Bísutún and Persepolis.

The river issuing from the gorge appears to have bisected the town. On the right bank, at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the gorge, a wall has been thrown across to the rocky ridge, which on the northern side of the town forms a natural barrier of stupendous strength. This wall appears now only as a line of broken mounds, like the buildings of Nineveh and Babylon, and I conclude it, therefore, to have been a work of the Chaldean ages. Just beyond the wall, at the north-western angle of the city, and situated above a fountain which issues from the foot of the rocky ridge, are the remains of a Sásánian building, which may have been a palace, or a fire-temple: the place is called *Kará Bolák** (the black spring), from the sulphureous spring issuing at its foot. On the left bank of the river the wall is not to be traced; but there are a vast assemblage of mounds which appear to mark the site of the principal edifices of the city. One of these is full 50 feet in height, and in several places around it brickwork is exposed to view, of the peculiar character of the Babylonian building. About 1 mile to the S.E. of this tapah,† and apparently beyond the limits of the city, are the remains of an edifice which I believe to have been a fire-temple of the Magi: the place is called *Bághi-Mínijah*,‡ and a hot spring issues from the foot of a mound adjoining it. But the most curious monument of *Holwán* is found at the corner of the upper gorge, about 2 miles distant from the sculptures that I have already described—this is a royal sepulchre excavated in the rock, precisely similar in character to the tombs of Persepolis. The face of the rock has been artificially scarped to the height of 70 feet, and at that elevation has been excavated a quadrangular recess, 6 feet deep, 8 feet high, and 30 wide; in the centre of the recess is the opening into the tomb, which, as in the case of the sepulchres of Persepolis, appears to have been forcibly broken in;—the interior is rude, containing on the left-hand side the place for the deposit of the dead, being a section of the cave divided off by a low partition about 2 feet high;—there are niches, as usual, for lights, but no sculpture nor ornament of any kind. Outside are the remains

* *Bolák* (thus spelt for *Búlák*, as in the name of Old *Caïro*, is probably the right spelling), though not in *Meninski*, is a *Turkí* or *Chaghatái* word, as appears from *Eversmann's Tátár Vocabulary*, p. 12. F.S.

† A *Turkish* word, "a mound or tumulus," written *depeh* and pronounced *tepeh* at *Constantinople*. F.S.

‡ The garden of *Mínijah*. *Mínijah* is one of the fabulous heroines of the *Sháh-námah*.

of two broken pillars, which have been formed out of the solid rock on either side of the entrance; the base and a small piece of either shaft appear below, and the capitals adhere to the roof of the recess, the centre part of each column having been destroyed. Upon the smooth face of the rock, below the cave, is an unfinished tablet. The figure of a Múbid, or high-priest of the Magi, appears standing with one hand raised, in the act of benediction, and the other grasping a scroll, which I conclude to represent the sacred leaves of the Zand-A'vestá; he is clothed in his pontifical robes, and wears the square pointed cap, and lappets covering his mouth, which are described by Hyde as the most ancient dress of the priests of Zoroaster.* There is a vacant space in the tablet, apparently intended for the fire-altar, which we usually see sculptured, before the priest. This tomb is named the Dukkáni-Dáúd, or David's shop; for the Jewish monarch is believed by the 'Alí-Iláhís to follow the calling of a smith: the broken shafts are called his anvils, and the part of the tomb which is divided off, as I have mentioned, by the low partition, is supposed to be a reservoir to contain the water which he uses to temper his metal. David is really believed by the 'Alí-Iláhís to dwell here, although invisible, and the smithy is consequently regarded by them as a place of extreme sanctity. I never passed by the tomb without seeing the remains of a bleeding sacrifice, and the 'Alí-Iláhís, who come here on pilgrimage from all parts of Kurdistán, will prostrate themselves on the ground, and make the most profound reverence immediately that they come in sight of the holy spot. In connexion with the Samaritan captivity, I regard this superstitious veneration for David, and the offering of Kurbáns, or sacrifices, at his supposed shrine, as a very curious subject.

There are several other Sásánian ruins in this neighbourhood, but they do not merit particular attention. The Kal'ahi-Kuhnah, or old fort, about 2 miles S.E. of the Dukkáni-Dáúd, resembles a large caravanserai, with a fortalice in the centre; and about a farsakh beyond this, in the same direction, is a high mound called Tapahi Anúshiraván, where the Kalhur chiefs have erected a modern fort, named Kal'ah Sháhín,† which has now given its title to the entire district.

The high-road from Baghdád to Kirmánsháh passes through the gorge which contains the sculptured tablets, and subsequently traverses the whole extent of the ruins—so that they must have already been subjected to the observation of many travellers; and it is thus most extraordinary that Zoháb should have been allowed to the present day to disfigure our maps as the representative of Holwán. The bridge across the river, and the two caravanserais,

* See Hyde de Rel, Vet. Pers. p. 369.

† The royal fort.

which form the halting-place for travellers by this route, are in the middle of the ruins. The river is now generally named by the ignorant Kurds A'bi-Elwand, the Elwan of Rich; but this is a mere corruption from Ḥolwán, and I have ventured, therefore, to restore the true orthography. There can be no question, I must observe, at the same time, about Sar-Púli-Zoháb being the real site of Ḥolwán. The oriental itineraries and geographical notices are quite decisive upon this point, the ruins themselves bear certain evidence, and the spot is still known to some of the Kurds by the very title of Shahri-Ḥolwán.* Ḥolwán continued a great and populous town long after the Arab invasion of Persia. It was often partially destroyed in the conflicts of the Abbaside Khaliphate; but it again rose from its ruins, and it was not until the visit of the desolating hordes of Hulákú, in their descent upon Baghdád in A.D. 1258, that it received its final blow, and sank before the exterminating hand of war, never to be again inhabited.

Having now given a description of Zoháb, and the adjacent district, I proceed with a journal of my route from that place to Susiana.

Feb. 14th, 1836.—I left the caravanserai of Sar-Púli-Zoháb, or simply Sar-Púl, as it is often called, and marched with the Gúrán regiment 10 miles to Deirá, in a general direction of due S. Leaving the plain of Ḥolwán, the road winds round the foot of a range of hills called Danáwish, into a little valley watered by the Deirá river, and from thence follows the right bank of the stream into the Şahrái-Deirá (plain of Deirá). This stream, in general a mere brawling rivulet, had been swollen by the recent rains to a furious and rapid torrent. The bridges of woven boughs, which had been thrown across in several places, from bank to bank, to afford a passage in case the fords should be impracticable, had been all swept away by the rise of the waters, and I was obliged, therefore, to encamp the troops on the right bank of the river. The A'bi-Deirá joins the Ḥolwán river at a place called Mullá Ya'kúb, about midway between Sar-Púl and Kaşri-Shírín, and it is said to be spanned near this spot by a natural arch of rock, which is called Púli-Khudá, or God's bridge. In the narrow valley which opens into the plain of Deirá are the winter pasture-grounds of the Kirmánsháh stud. The spot was selected by Moḥammed 'Alí Mírzá, as well on account of its excellent herbage as for the security of the position shut in between the hills on one side, and the river on the other. In his time there were 500 brood mares kept in the Deirá valley; and the Kirmánsháh horses were renowned through Persia. When I passed there were scarcely a hundred mares, and they were all of a very inferior description. The plain of

* The city of Ḥolwán.

Deirá is about 4 miles in length, and 2 in breadth. It was formerly included in the páshálik of Zoháb; but after the conquest of that district by the Persians it was purchased, together with the rich territory of Qal'ah Sháhín by the Kalhur chiefs, from the Turkish owners, for a sum scarcely exceeding a single year's produce of the lands. There are 150 resident Kalhur families at Deirá, Dih-Nishíns (sitters in villages), as they are called; and it also affords kishlak, or winter quarters for 400 more, who are nomadic. Near the place of our encampment, along the skirts of the range of Danáwish, were the ruins of an ancient town of considerable extent. The style of building, as far as it was visible in the foundations of the walls, appeared superior to the rude architecture of the Sásanian ages. Indeed there was so much of regularity in the construction of the buildings that I could not help fancying the ruins might possibly represent one of the towns which Alexander built in this vicinity, to command the passes, after he had succeeded in reducing the Cossæan mountaineers; especially as Deirá stands upon one of the great lines of migration of the I'liyát; and in the hands of a conqueror must therefore have held them in complete subjection.* I am not aware, however, that it has been thought worthy of a place either in classical or oriental geography.

February 15th.—The river being still impassable, I was obliged to quit the high-road and follow up its right bank to the head of the Deirá plain, where with some difficulty I at length brought the troops across. At this point there is a recess excavated in the face of the rock, which is called by the Kurds, U'táki-Ferhád (the chamber of Ferhád†). It would appear as though intended for the outer chamber of a tomb, like the Dukkání-Dáúd; but it has been left in such an unfinished state that one cannot be positive as to its purpose.

From above Deirá I traversed by a difficult pass, called Surkhah Mil (the red pass), the lofty and abrupt range of Sunbulah,‡ which bounds the plain of Gílán to the N.E. This is a very remarkable ridge of mountains, far exceeding in height all the other ranges, at the foot of the Zagros, in this vicinity, and exhibiting the same line of naked and precipitous crags, which appears with such imposing effect in the magnificent chain of Bísutún. The high-road from Zoháb to Gílán conducts across these hills by a more open pass, called the Tangi-Shishráh (the six-road-defile), from its branching into a number of parallel pathways, about a farsakh to the N. of Surkhah Mil; but even

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 11.

† Most of the architectural curiosities in this part of the country are ascribed to Ferhád, the famous stone-cutter of Persian romance, who was enamoured of the beautiful Shírín.

‡ Pronounced Sumbulah; *n* becoming *m* before *b*.—F. S.

this track is not practicable to artillery; and I suspect therefore that the ancient royal route, which led along the line that I am now describing, must have rounded the extreme point of Sunbulah to the N. On the summit of the range there is a fine table-land, wooded with the dwarf oak, and bounded on either side with a barrier of rocky precipices, which is celebrated throughout the province for the abundance of wild animals that frequent it. This mountain, therefore, I have no scruple in identifying with the Sambulos of Tacitus,* near which, when Meherdates, under the auspices of Rome, invaded the Parthian kingdom, Gotarzes the Great was employed in offering sacrifices to the local deities, and among others to Hercules.

The classical reader will remember the story of the temple of Hercules in this vicinity, when the god was wont, like the wild huntsman of the Hartz, to scour the hills and forests with an invisible band, during the silent hours of night, and the priests, sallying forth at morn, collected the victims of the nocturnal chase. I doubt I must confess the application of the story to Hercules, as he was never regarded as a patron of the chase; and the evidence, moreover, of his ever having been worshipped in Persia is most meagre and unsatisfactory; but to whomever the tradition may belong, there is every reason for believing Sunbulah to be the scene referred to.

Gotarzes, we are told by Tacitus, retreated from mount Sambulos, behind the river Corma, to collect his forces, and there await the attack of his enemy. Meherdates was in Adiabene, and I suspect, therefore, that Gotarzes moved along the high Median road to the Kará sú,† the original name of which was preserved in the town of Kırmesín,‡ afterwards built upon its banks. In this view, the engagement must have taken place in the plain between Kirmánsháh and Bísutún; and I shall subsequently show the probability that Gotarzes immediately after the battle engraved a tablet and inscription at the latter place to commemorate his victory, of which the imperfect traces are still visible.

Descending from the heights of Sunbulah, the road conducts for 10 miles in a south-easterly direction, along the plain of Gílán, to a ruined village of the same name. The plain of Gílán is situated between the hills of Sunbulah and A'nárish. It is watered by a considerable stream, which joins the Holwán river, between Kasri-Shírín and Khánikín. There is much rice cultivated in this plain; and in the winter season it is covered over its whole extent with encampments of the Kalhur I'liyát. The village of

* Ann. Lib. xii. c. 13.

† Black-water.

‡ A city upon the banks of the Karású, from the ruins of which arose Kirmánsháh. This was not, however, another name for Kirmánsháh, as is sometimes stated, but a distinct city.

Gílán, which is situated at the southern extremity of the plain, on the lower road, conducting from Kirmánsláh to Baghdád, is now in ruins; the Kalhur chiefs, who usually pass the winter in this district, residing in black goats'-hair tents, which differ only in size from the abodes of the other I'liyát.

There are the remains of a considerable town at Gílán, similar in appearance to the ruins of Deirá, and probably, therefore, of the same age. A very remarkable tapah is also found here, about 80 feet in height, and 300 paces in circumference. It is now crowned by a quadrangular fortification, with bastions at the corners, and at the foot of it is a large irregular fort; both of which defences are the modern works of the Kalhur rulers. The large sun-dried bricks of the Babylonian building are found in numbers at the tapah of Gílán, an unquestionable evidence of its antiquity; and I suspect it, therefore, to represent the site of a magnificent fire-temple of the magi, which, in the corrupted faith of the Arsacidan ages, being dedicated to some particular local divinity who was supposed to preside over the pleasures of the chase, became connected with the traditions that Tacitus improperly ascribed to Hercules.

I must observe that there are several circumstances referring to this temple and its vicinity which have an evident reference to the ancient superstitions of the country. The name of Sunbulah, which is applied to the mountains of the supposed scene of the nocturnal chase, signifies an ear of wheat; and this was the symbol of the female principle of the earth's fecundity, which, together with the male generative power of the sun, formed the two great objects of adoration among the early nations of the East. In after-ages the worship of the two principles, under the names of Mithra, or the Sun, and Anáitis, or Venus, having undergone a great modification in its connexion with the theism of Zoroaster, became sometimes confounded; but still the Sunbulah, or ear of corn, continued the peculiar characteristic of Venus, in her personification of the fecundity of the earth; and thus we see it depicted on the coins of Nannaia (the mere Syrian translation of the Persian Anáhíd, or Venus*), which the labours of our countrymen in Bactria have lately brought to light.†

There is also a spring at the foot of the tapah surrounded with myrtle-bushes, which is held in great veneration. The sacred character of the myrtle (múrt, as it is called in Persia, from which was borrowed the Greek *μύρτος*) I believe to have originated in the East. Its connexion with the worship of Venus is well known; and it is a curious relic of the ancient observances,

* Nánf is the Syriac name for Venus.—See Hyde, p. 92.

† See Journ. of the As. Soc. of Calcutta, vol. iii. p. 451.

that at the present day, wherever the myrtle-bush is found among the Kurdish mountains (and it is very rare), a sort of mystic reverence is attached to the spot, which the people are altogether unable to explain.

From the name of Sunbulah and the myrtle-spring, one would be inclined to believe this to have been a fire-temple, peculiarly dedicated to Anáhíd, or Venus; and at the same time, perhaps, the stories of the nocturnal chase may be explained, when we consider that the Grecian Diana, to whom the tradition will more properly apply, has been almost invariably confounded with the Persian Anáitis, apparently from some resemblance between the Persian rites in their worship of the principle of fecundity, and the Grecian adoration of Diana in her character of Ilithyia, presiding over the labours of women.

I was met by the chief of the Kalhur tribe at some distance from Gilán, and conducted to his camp, where, surrounded by his relatives and followers, he held his little feudal court, in true I'liyát fashion. The Kahlurs are acknowledged to be one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, of the tribes of Kurdistán. They number about 20,000 families, of which one-half are scattered over different parts of Persia, and the remainder still retain their ancient seats around Mount Zagros. These Kirmánsháh Kahlurs are again divided into two great branches, the Sháh-bázis and Mansúris, the former numbering 8000, and the latter 2000 families.

The Sháh-bází Kahlurs possess the whole extent of country from Máhidasht, near Kirmánsháh, to the Turkish frontier at Mendállí.* The Mansúri have rather a limited country, south of Gilán, which I shall presently describe.

Gilán has been laid down by Major Rennell, as the representative of the Bæotian colony of Celonæ, and has been adopted as such without farther discussion, in all subsequent maps; but this I believe to be incorrect; for the march of Alexander on Ecbatana, which suggested the verification, should be drawn from Susa instead of from Opis, as Major Rennell supposed; and it will be found upon this line that Celonæ was much too near to Susa to coincide with the position of Gilán. Neither does the route across Mount Zagros by Gilán appear ever to have been generally followed. The passes between Gilán and Hárún-ábád are very difficult; and the intervening country is very sparingly furnished with supplies; so that, had the march of Alexander commenced from Opis, he would certainly have followed the high-road by the gates of Zagros rather than this difficult and barren track. I find a solitary mention of Gilán

* Mendellí-Khánah in the '*Jihán-numá*,' p. 466. F.S.

in oriental geography* as the source of the left branch of the Holwán river; and I conclude it, therefore, to have been a place of no consequence, since the establishment of Mohammedanism.

February 16th.—I left the Kalhur head-quarters, and made a long march of 8 farsakhs to Zarnah. The direct road from Gílán to the Luristán frontier passes over some high table-land, called Chillah; but, as this line was reported to be blocked up by the snow, I took the more circuitous route of the plain of I'wán. The road which I followed led from Gílán into a narrow valley between the mountains, called Miyán-dar (or mid-vale), which it pursued for 20 miles into the plain of I'wán. This glen was thickly wooded with the bellút, or dwarf-oak; and I found the trees here of a larger size than I have met with in any part of Persia. The herbage beneath them was of the richest and most plentiful description; and from this circumstance, together with its warm and sheltered position, the vale of Miyán-dar forms a favourite winter residence for the Kalhur I'liyát. Every little glade in the oak-forest was filled with their black tents; and their herds and flocks were grazing almost from one extremity of the valley to the other. The direction of the road through the valley was nearly S. On emerging into the plain of I'wán, the road struck across a barren track for 10 miles S. 20° E., to the village of Zarnah.

At Zarnah are found the ruins of a large city. There is a tapah, which I conceive to mark the site of the citadel, little inferior in size to the one at Gílán; and the foundations of buildings, now nearly levelled with the surface of the ground, extend over a space of perhaps 5 miles in circumference. Three or four detached buildings, in a state of less complete ruin than the rest, are met with in the vicinity of the tapah. They consist of the mass of narrow-vaulted passages, which appear to have constituted the places of abode in the era of the Sásanian kings; and the style of building being identical with that of the ruins at Bán Zardah and Kaşri-Shírín, I have no hesitation in assigning them to the same epoch. The tapah, however, and the general mass of ruins, are certainly far more ancient. In the one are found the immense sun-dried bricks of the Kayánian age; and the massive character of the other indicates an era of the most remote antiquity. I'wán is distant 6 farsakhs S. 10° W. of Zarnah, at the extreme point of the plain; and the intervening country is rich and fertile, well watered, and almost entirely under cultivation. I'wán forms the head-quarters of the Mansúrí Kalhurs; but it is now only a small village; and, although the name signifies a palace, and would thus seem to denote an ancient

* See Nuz-haṭu-l-Kulúb.—Pers. MS.

site, it does not possess, as far as I can learn, any ruins or other indications of former consequence. The Kalhur I'liyát of the plain of I'wán are all nomadic, with the exception of a few families resident at Zarnah and I'wán. They pass the winter in the plain, and move up during the summer to the yeiláks (summer residences) of the surrounding mountains. A stream, named the Gangír, rises in the lofty mountain of Mánisht, behind I'wán, and, flowing past the village, plentifully irrigates the extensive plain. Zarnah is about 2 miles distant from its right bank. From this point it diverges to the W., and, passing between the ranges of Anárish and Sarázúr, it flows on in a rapid and impetuous torrent to Saúmár, and from thence to Mendállí, where it is divided into a multitude of petty streams, and is totally absorbed in the irrigation of the rice-fields and date-groves. This stream I was at one time inclined to believe the representative of the ancient Gyndes; but a stricter scrutiny has obliged me to concede the point in favour of the Diyálah. The circumstances which seemed to lend a colour to the identification were the similarity of the names of Gangír and Gyndes, the application of Mánisht to the Matienian mountains of Herodotus,* of the plain of Zarnah to the expression, διὰ Δαρύεων (the letters D and Z being used indifferently by the Kurds†), and finally the coincidence of its exhaustion at Mendállí with the labour of Cyrus, which divided it into 180 channels. The reasons that have induced me to decide against it are, that the Gangír could never have been a navigable stream; that its direction, to all appearance, would lead it to disembogue into the Diyálah, and not into the Tigris, if allowed to pursue its natural course; that it would not thus require to be crossed on the road from Sardis to Susa; that Cyrus would have had no occasion whatever to pass through Mendállí, in his transit from the Atropatenian Ecbatana to Babylon; and, lastly, that were the Gangír to be identified with the Gyndes, the broad and rapid stream of the Diyálah would be left without a representative.

The series of valleys which extend along the great chain of Zagros to the confines of Susiana, and are divided by a line of parallel ridges from the plains of Assyria, form one of the least-known, and at the same time one of the most interesting countries of the East. Here was the original seat of the Elamites, when they migrated from Babylon; and from hence they spread their conquests over Susiana, and the adjoining districts to the eastward, which thus assumed the title of Elymais. The Elymæans, are distinctly specified by Strabo, in numerous passages, as in-

* Book i. chap. 189.

† Probably *z* is substituted for *dh* by the Kurds, not for a radical *d*: *dhál* (*dh*) and *dhád* (*dh*) are pronounced by genuine Arabs as our *th* in *the*, *thou*, *that*.—F.S.

habiting along Mount Zagros, on the southern confines of Media, and overhanging Babylonia and Susiana. The most ancient name of the country appears to have been the plain of Arioch,* from whence the king of the Elymæans came to the assistance of the Assyrian monarch at Nineveh. His capital I believe to have been the very city of Zarnah, the ruins of which I have just described; for I have discovered that as late as the thirteenth century of Christ it actually retained the name of Ariyúhán.† I also suspect that this same place represents the Hara of the captivity,‡ which must certainly be looked for in this vicinity; and further, there can be no doubt that it is likewise identical with the Aarian of Benjamin of Tudela, where he states himself to have found 20,000 families of Jews.§ Before the age of Alexander the name of Arioch appears to have given way to that of Sabad, in the plural Sabadán; and with the territorial prefix of Máh, a country, Máh Sabad, and Máh-Sabadán. This, then, is the territory which is described by Strabo under the title of Massabatice, as one of the great divisions of Elymæa, intervening between Susiana and the districts around Mount Zagros.|| which is named by Pliny, Mesobatene, a district under Mount Cambalidos (probably the Sambulos of Tacitus), watered by the river Eulæus, before it descends into the plains of Susiana,¶ of which the inhabitants are called by Dionysius, Messabatæ,** and by Ptolemy, Sambatæ;†† and, lastly, which is referred to by Diodorus in his account of Alexander's march from Susa, under the designation of Sambana.‡‡ At the time of the conquest of Persia, by Ardeshér Bábegán, I find in a curious work a translation of a Pehleví chronicle,§§ that the province was called Máh Sabadán, the country of Sabadán, in the same way as are also mentioned Máh Niháwand and Máh Bastám, the countries of Niháwand and Bastám; and it is of much importance to be thus able to determine the true ancient signification, for the Arabs contracted the two words into Másabadhán (changing D into DH, according to the genius of the language), and pretended to refer the etymology to an epithet applying to the moon.¶¶ Bearing in mind that in the ancient language of Persia the *t* and *d* were used

* Judith, i. 6.

† See Mu'jamu-l-Buldán and Murásidu-l-Ittílá.—Arab. MSS.

‡ I Chron. v. 26.

§ The *Ariyúhán* of Yákút, from whence a river flowed to Mendállí, or *Bandi-Najín*, as it was anciently called, can only represent *Zarnah* or *Pwán*; and, as there are no ruins at the one, I conclude in favour of the other.

|| Strabo, pp. 524, 725.

** Dionys. Perieg. verse 1014.

¶ Pliny, book vi. c. 27.

†† Ptol. book vi. c. 1.

‡‡ Diod. Sic. book xvii. chap. 110.

§§ Translation of Ibn Mukáffa' in the *Tárikhi-Tabaristán*.—Pers. MS.

¶¶ *Murásid-ul-Ittílá'*.—Arab. MS. Máh in Persian signifies the moon as well as a country; and Yákút adopted the former meaning.

indifferently, that the addition of the cognate letter *m* before *b* is agreeable to the universal genius of orthography; and that the territorial prefix of *Máh* was sometimes employed and sometimes dropped, we shall be able to assure ourselves of the identity of all these names with as much satisfaction as we observe the exact accordance of their geographical indications.

The name of *Másabadhán** will be familiar to the orientalist, for it is of most frequent occurrence in all the Arabian historians and geographers, and though it is now lost, there can be no difficulty whatever in defining the exact territory to which it applied. The district of *Máh Sabadán* appears to have commenced from the plain of *Iwán*, and to have extended along the face of the great mountains to the confines of Susiana. The route which I am now describing through this country, I may also observe, was a great line of communication in antiquity. It is described by Diodorus as "a royal road, conducting from Susiana into Media along the mountains, exposed to the heat, so circuitous as to extend the journey to nearly 40 marches; but in excellent order and well supplied with provisions,"† an account which is minutely correct and cannot possibly be mistaken: it is the route which the same author has laid down in detailing the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana, and his intermediate stations are all to be identified; it is again mentioned by Strabo as a great line of communication, traversing Massabatie,‡ and leading into Susiana from the districts around Mount Zagros; and finally, Pliny also refers to it when he says, "that the most open and commodious passage from Susa, conducting into Bactria," (used in a general sense for the E. of Persia,) "lay through the province of Mesobatene."§ And we are able without any difficulty to explain the reason of this circuitous line of communication; for although in modern days, when there is no incumbrance to an army but the artillery carriages, strongly and massively constructed, several of the direct passes of the mountain-barrier of Zagros are to be traversed with difficulty; yet it was very different in an age when chariots formed a necessary accompaniment to an army, both for the services of war and the peaceful pageant of the king. In marching from Susa with wheeled carriages of that description, the direct line to Kirmánsháh, up the valley of the Kerkhah river, or to Khorram-ábád, along the course of the Káshghán,|| would have been both equally impracticable, and there would have been no shorter route conducting into Media

* There has been great confusion in the orthography of this word owing to the misplacing the diacritical points. See Reiske's *Abúlfedá*, vol. ii. p. 641. *Abúlfedá's* Geography determines the true orthography.

† Diod. Sic., book xix. chap. 2.

‡ Strabo, p. 725.

§ Book vi. c. 27.

|| The name of this river in the *Nuz-hatü-l-Kulúb* is written *Kazhgh*.

than the road along the plains of Máh Sabadán, at the foot of the great range to the gates of Zagros, where a single pass led across the mountain-barrier into the high table-land of Kirrind.

I now proceed with my route:—

February 17th.—I made to-day a very long and fatiguing march of 11 farsakhs from Zarnah to the plain of Chárdawer,* no single I'liyát encampment or other place from which supplies might be procured occurring between the two points. A lofty and extensive range of mountains, upon which the snow lay about a foot deep, intervenes between the plains of I'wán and A'smán-ábád. We crossed this from Zarnah in a direction nearly E., and on the descent of the mountains rejoined the high road from Gilán, which had traversed the elevated table-land of Chillah in a S.E. direction from that place: the Şahrâi-A'smánábád is about 10 miles in length and 4 in breadth. It belongs to the Mansúrí Kalhur; but, as the plain of I'wán contains more arable land than the limited number of the tribe can cultivate, and A'smánábád, being more elevated, is less favourable to husbandry, it is made use of by them only as a Yeílák, or summer pasturage. From A'smánábád to Chárdawer there are two roads; the one following the course of a petty stream which waters both these plains, the other through a richly-wooded glade among the hills; the former, the high road, is the nearest and the best; I preferred, however, the latter, as I feared that the troops might not be able to reach Chárdawer before night; and, in case of being obliged to bivouac, the sheltered position of the wooded valley would be far preferable to the exposure of the snowy plain. It turned out as I had conjectured. I contrived myself with a few horsemen to reach Chárdawer as it was growing dark; the troops, being overtaken by night, encamped in the glade. The plains of A'smánábád and Chárdawer form the frontier districts of Kirmánsháh and Luristán.

Luristán is divided into two provinces, Luri-Buzurg and Luri-Kuchuk, the greater and the less Luristán; the former is the mountainous country of the Bakhtiyáris, stretching from the frontiers of Fárs, westward, to the river of Dizfúl; the latter is situated between that river and the plains of Assyria, being bounded to the N. and S. by Kirmánsháh and Susiana.

This province of Luri-Kuchuk is again divided into two districts, Pish-kúh and Pushti-kúh, the country before and behind the mountains, referring, of course, to the great chain of Zagros; and Pushti-kúh thus represents the Másabadán of the geographers,† except that perhaps at present its northern frontier is

* Properly *Chahár-daúr* (surrounded on four sides), but always pronounced Chárdawer.

† The name of Másabadán is now unknown in the country.

somewhat curtailed. I entered this territory of Pushti-kúh at Chárdawer, a plain stretching N.W. and S.E. to an extent of about 12 miles in length and 5 in breadth, and alighted at the tent of Jemshíd Beg, the head of a tribe of Khizil* Kurds, who have been long located at Chárdawer and incorporated into the extensive tribe of Fáilí. I was much pleased with the frank and open demeanour of my host, so strikingly at variance with the mean and cringing courtesy of the Persians, and even, though in a less degree, of the Kirmánsháh Kurds. He welcomed me to his tent with every evidence of disinterested kindness, and seemed to tax his powers to the utmost to do honour to his Firingí guest. These black goats'-hair tents are of all sizes, from the petty cabin of the ra'yat to the spacious and commodious abode of the Hákim. The size of the tent is computed according to the number of poles, which often extend to 10 or 12, at the distance of about 20 feet from each other. A large apartment is thus formed, which is divided into a number of different chambers by means of matting; and the Díván-Khánah, Anderún,† place for servants, kitchen, stable, and sheep-fold, are thus all included under the same roof. Around the Díván-Khánah are spread coarse carpets of I'liyát manufacture, and in the centre is dug a deep square hole for the fire; in the tent of Jemshíd Beg the hole was filled with chips and logs of wood, and above were piled huge branches of trees to the height of several feet, and the mass of combustibles, when ignited, threw out, as may be supposed, such a heat, that it was with difficulty I could remain in the tent.

February 18th.—I halted to-day at Chárdawer, to enable the troops to come up and rest, after their very fatiguing march. I was in some apprehension at first; for there was blood between the Gúrás and the followers of Jemshíd Beg, the latter having joined the Kalhur tribe in their last foray on the Gúrán lands, and having lost several men in the skirmish which ensued. "Had they slain, however, a hundred of my men," said Jemshíd Beg, "they are your sacrifice; the Gúrán having come here under your shadow, they are all my guests;" and he insisted, accordingly, in furnishing the regiment with supplies, as a part of my own entertainment. Neither could I prevail on him to accept of any remuneration; he only requested that, in time of need, I would permit him to take *bast*‡ in my tent.

February 19th.—From the óbáš of Jemshíd Beg I marched four farsakhs to Zangawán, where A'hmed Khán, one of the joint Wálís of Pushti-kúh, held his temporary camp. The road led, for 12 miles, down the plain of Chárdawer, through an open

* A corruption, I fancy, from Khizr, the Muselmán name of Elias.

† The inner apartments for the women.

‡ Sanctuary.

§ An I'liyát encampment.

and well-cultivated country, to the Chármín Kúh (the white hills). At the foot of the hills we crossed the stream which waters the plains of A'smánábád and Chárdawer; and, at a short distance to our left, we saw it unite with a deep and rapid river, which here debouches from Zagros by a tremendous gorge, called the Tangi-Bábá Giriyyá. This was the river of Kirrind, which flows from that place to the plain of Hárúnábád, and there entering among the mountains, receives in its onward course the A'bi-Harásam and several other petty streams, until, swollen to a river of great force and rapidity, it bursts in a succession of terrific cataracts through the mountain of Wardalán, and emerges into the low country at the foot of the range. The ascent of the Chármín hills was most abrupt: at the summit was some extent of table-land, and the descent on the other side into the plain of Zangawán was equally precipitous. I heard of another route, at a short distance to the right, conducting over the hills by a very easy pass into the plain of Kárazán, and thence, following down a stream to Zangawán, which doubtless marks the line of the ancient road. Immediately on pitching my camp in the plain of Zangawán, A'hmed Khán, the joint Wálí of Pushti-kúh, came to call on me.

Between the 12th and the 17th centuries the province of Luri-Kuchuk was governed by a race of independent princes, who were named A'tábegs. The last prince of this royal race, Sháh-verdí Khán, was removed by Sháhi 'Abbás the Great, and the government was granted to the chief of a rival tribe, Husein Khán, with almost unlimited authority, and with the title of Wálí in exchange for that of A'tábeg; his descendants have retained the title, which in Persia is almost equivalent to royalty,* and, though their power is now greatly weakened, they still affect a royal style in their manners and establishment. Owing to the intestine divisions of the family, Písh-kúh, which is by far the fairest portion of Luri-Kuchuk, has been wrested from them, and placed under the direct control of the Kirmánsháh government. Pushti-kúh, however, still acknowledges the sway of the Wálí; and, since the death of Mohámmad 'Alí Mirzá, Hasan Khán, who had enjoyed this dignity, had yielded a mere nominal allegiance to the crown of Persia. Shortly before my visit, however, a breach had taken place in the family between Hasan Khán and his two eldest sons, and, the tribes being divided, the Kirmánsháh government had taken advantage of the moment to interfere, by supporting the sons against the father, and thus to establish a partial influence over the country. Hasan Khán therefore had been formally

* The title of Sháhinsháh, or king of kings, was assumed by the Persian monarch as lord paramount over four tributary princes, the Wálís of Gurjistán (Georgia), Ardelán, Luristán, and Hawízah.

deposed, and 'Alí Khán and A'hmed Khán appointed joint Wálís in his place. The old man, for he is now upwards of ninety years of age, took refuge with a small body of adherents among the Arabs of the Assyrian plains, where, for some time, he baffled all the attacks of his enemies; and lately the I'liyát, finding that they alone were the party likely to suffer in the struggle between their rulers, and the consequent extension of the Persian authority over them, have obliged the father and sons to be reconciled; and Hasan Khán now again governs the territory of Púsh-tí-kúh with the power and energy of an independent prince. When the whole of Luri-Kuchuk was under the dominion of the Wálís, all the tribes were included, under the general denomination of Fáilí, the peculiar title of Husein Khán's clan. At present, however, the inhabitants of Písh-kúh do not acknowledge the name in any way; they have a distinct classification of their own, and the title of Fáilí is applied alone to the tribes of Pushtí-kúh, who are under the sway of the Wálí. The maps therefore are incorrect when they describe the whole of Luri-Kuchuk as "a mountainous country, inhabited by the Fáilí tribes."

I found A'hmed Khán a man of agreeable manners, and far better acquainted with the general state of eastern politics than I could possibly have expected. There was a tincture of bigotry, however, in his conversation, which forcibly reminded me of his being the representative, both in family and station, of the infamous Kalb 'Alí Khán, who murdered, for a conscientious refusal to pronounce the kalemah of Islám,* my unfortunate countrymen, Captains Grant and Fotheringham.† The family of the Wálí, indeed, are notorious for their intolerant spirit; and I should recommend any European traveller visiting the province of Pushtí-kúh, in order to examine its remarkable antiquities, to appear in the meanest guise, and live entirely among the wandering I'liyát, who are mostly 'Alí Iláhís, and are equally ignorant and indifferent on all matters of religion. In my own case, of course, I had nothing to apprehend, as I was marching at the head of a regiment, and the rulers of the province were anxious to propitiate the favour of the prince of Kirmánsháh, in whose service I was known to be; but I saw enough on this journey, and upon subsequent occasions, of the extreme jealousy and intolerance of the Wálí's family, to feel assured that the attempt of an European to explore the country in an open and undisguised character, with any less efficient support, would be attended with the greatest danger.

A small stream at Zangawán forces its way through a chasm in the Chármín hills, and falls into the river which I have already

* "There is no God but God, and Mōhammed is his prophet."

† See Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 438.

described, and which is here called the Abi-Sírwán. The chasm is named the Bandi-Shamsháb; and in its precipitous face is a cavern only accessible by a ladder of ropes, in which are usually deposited the arms, stores, and treasures of the Fáilí tribe. Zangawán is, in consequence of this natural stronghold, and the fruitful and abundant character of the country around it, a favourite station for the encampment of the chieftain of Pushti-kúh.

February 20th.—This was a day of particular interest. My chief object in selecting this route had been to visit the far-famed ruins of the city of Sírwán; and to-day were my wishes gratified. I had been informed that the ruins lay upon the direct road, and did not think it worth while therefore to take a guide with me from Zangawán. After riding 10 miles, however, I learnt that the object of my search was a considerable distance to the right hand; and, the day being now far advanced, I had no alternative but to send on the troops to their place of encampment, and gallop across the country with a few horsemen to the ruins. I regretted this much afterwards, as I was prevented, by the smallness of my party, from examining the place with as much minuteness as I could have wished.

After crossing a range of low sand-hills, I reached a plain of limited extent, but excellently watered, and in the highest possible state of cultivation, which was called the Sahraí-Sírwán—every little eminence round the plain was crowned with ruins, whose rude though massive character bespoke the architecture of the Sásánian ages, and indicated the former populousness of the district. Whitewashed obelisks of brick-work, varying from 10 to 15 feet in height, were also to be seen in all directions upon the skirts of the hills, the sepulchral monuments of the Lurish chiefs. I inquired of a peasant the story of one of these, which, from its tall graceful form and recent erection, particularly attracted my notice. “A chief from Písh-kúh was betrothed,” he said, “to the daughter of one of our Tushmáls;* he came to celebrate his nuptials, but sickened upon the road, and died before he reached the encampment of his bride. The maiden raised this pillar to his memory, and, shaving her long tresses, hung them round the obelisk in token of her grief.” I found indeed most of the pillars thus decked with a coronal of woman’s tresses, and learnt that it was a custom among the Lurish I’liyát, on the death of a chieftain, for all his female relations to cut off their hair, and hang their locks, woven into a funeral wreath, upon the tomb of their departed lord.

A narrow valley runs out westerly from the plain of Sírwán,

* Tushmál, in Lurish, signifies, like Kedkhudá in Persian, “the master of a house.” The petty chiefs of Lúristán are all called Tushmáls.

piercing the hill of Kálarag, which forms a sort of outer barrier to the great chain of Milá-gáwan, and in this valley, upon the northern acclivity, are the ruins of the city.

The ruins of Sírwán are the most perfect remains of a Sásánian city in Persia. The buildings are uniformly composed of massive stone walls, cemented with a plaster of lime from the neighbouring hills, of the most extraordinary hardness and tenacity; a foundation of arched subterranean vaults appears universal, above which the usual construction seems to have been a single arched passage, divided into a number of apartments surrounding a quadrangular court; but, in other instances, the superstructure consists of a whole labyrinth of these vaulted passages, communicating with each other, the centre apartments being thus necessarily in a state of complete darkness, unless, indeed, of which I could perceive no trace, light was admitted from above. In a few cases, there were the remains of a second story, also arched, so that it would appear as if beams of wood were never made use of in these Sásánian buildings. Some of the houses were in a state of perfect preservation, the flowers and rude patterns upon the cement coating of the interior of the vaults appearing as fresh as if stamped but a few years ago. In the generality, however, the ends of the vaults had been broken in, which gave a most singular appearance to the side of the hill at a little distance, presenting to view nothing but lines of arched passages, as though the mountain itself were perforated with vaults.

One unusually extensive mass of ruins, overgrown with weeds and grass, was called the K̄asr, or place of Anúshiraván; a hole in this mound, just large enough to admit of a man's body, which led into the labyrinth of subterranean vaults, was named the Dakhmah,* or grave of Anúshiraván, and was supposed to conduct to the place where that monarch's body was deposited† amid heaps of countless treasures. A talismanic tablet, engraven with unknown characters, was said to guard the entrance to the tomb, beyond which, if any one attempted to penetrate, he inevitably perished. Isma'íl Khán, a Fáilí chief, I was told by some of the peasantry who had joined my party, had come to the spot a few years before, determined to penetrate into the vaults; but the first man whom he sent into the Dakhmah had never returned, and the rest of the party were so alarmed at his fate that they could not be induced to creep in above a few yards from the entrance. From what I had seen of the intricate ramifications of the vaults exposed to view, in several of the other ruined buildings of far less extent, I could easily believe, without the intervention

* Dakhmah is the place where the Gebrs or Pársís exposed the corpses of their dead.

† Anúshiraván, we know, was in reality interred at Tús.

of a miracle, that the unfortunate man had been unable to regain the narrow aperture by which he entered, and had thus perished miserably in the subterranean labyrinth. The account, however, of the tablet engraved with unknown characters appeared so authentic, many of the peasants declaring that they had reached it, and describing exactly a large hewn stone covered with a long inscription, that I was very anxious, if possible, to examine it. Accordingly I was joining together ropes, bridle-reins, &c., to form a long line, when I heard an old white-beard behind me say—"I have not seen a Firingí since Kalb 'Alí Khán caught those two káfirs thirty years ago, and, sending them to Jahannam, divided their spoil among the tribe;" and, looking round, I saw that about 200 of as savage-looking beings as I ever beheld had swarmed out of the vaults, which they use as places of abode, and, having surrounded my little party, were evidently discussing the propriety of an attack. It would have been madness to have prolonged my stay among these ruffians, who make no more account of cutting a man's throat than a sheep's; so, pretending that I had not breakfasted, I directed them to prepare torches and a long rope, and told them I would take my breakfast on the banks of the little stream below the ruins, and return afterwards to penetrate into the Dakhmah. They appeared to believe me, and let me ride quietly down to the banks of the stream, from whence I trotted at a brisk pace out of the gorge, glad enough to be well quit of the neighbourhood, even at the price of being disappointed in seeing the talismanic tablet. I conceive the inscription, if it does exist, to be probably in the Pehleví language, as the ruins around are certainly Sásánian. The circumstance, however, which particularly excited my interest about it was the possibility of its being Greek, a relic of the Bæotian colony whom Xerxes transported to this spot;* for the town of Sírwán is now generally known among the Lurs by the title of Shahri-Keílún; and, with this similitude of name, and the indication of 3 marches' distance from Sambana (Seimarráh, the capital of Sabadán), there can be no difficulty in identifying it with the Celonæ of Diodorus, which Alexander visited in his march through this district, on his route from Susa to Ecbatana. Sírwán is also named by the Lúrs Shahri-Anúshíráván, that monarch being its reputed founder; and, indeed, as the present ruins are Sasanian, it would appear probable that Anúshíráván did really build Sírwán on the site of the old Grecian town.

The ruins within the gorge are of very limited extent, scarcely perhaps a mile in length; but the buildings are crowded together, more after the fashion of a European than an Oriental

* *Diod. Sic.*, book xvii. c. 11.

town. Abú-l-fedá assimilates the situation of Sírwán to that of Mecca; being shut in between a hill and a river; and, from what I have read of the latter, I should think the resemblance correct. Quoting from another author, he also says that "there is a tomb here more holy than all others in the world, excepting that of Mohammed;" this I conceive to be the spot near Sírwán, which is now called, by the Lurs, the tomb of 'Abbás 'Alí, the brother of the Imáms Hasan and Husein, who in reality was interred at Kerbela; it is a place of great sanctity, and pilgrimages are made to it from all parts of Lúristán; 'Abbás 'Alí being regarded by the 'Alí Iláhis as the joint successor with his brothers of the incarnation of the divine principle, after the murder of his father. Sírwán is well described by all the Oriental geographers; and I cannot help regarding it as the river Vaanath of Benjamin of Tudela, distant two days' journey from Robadbar, and in which he found 4000 families of Jews; Nahrawán being a mistake of the Hebrew copyist for Sírwán, which was originally written.

I reached the place of encampment, distant 4 farsakhs from the ruins of Sírwán, soon after sunset; the tents were pitched on the banks of the broad and deep stream of the Abi-Sírwán, at the head of the district of Rúdbár,* which extends from hence along the valley of the river, a distance of about 6 farsakhs, to the point of its confluence with the Kerkhah. I heard at that spot of the ruins of a very considerable town, similar in appearance to Sírwán, which was called the Shahri-Rúdbár: † this would appear to be the Robadbar of Benjamin of Tudela, where he found 20,000 families of Jews; for the names are too nearly similar to allow us to attach much weight to his measurement (perhaps incorrect in the numbers) of 3 days' march from Susa. There is also a city mentioned in Oriental history under the name of el Rúd, ‡ situated in this province of Másabadán, which was celebrated as the place of sepulture of the Khaliph Mehdí, one of the most magnificent of the house of 'Abbás; § and although the only measurement which I can find, referring to this place, does not exactly coincide with the position of Rúdbár, || yet, from the similarity of name, and as I can hear of no other ruin in the district which may possibly apply, I am still inclined in favour of the identification. There are several stories related by the historians regarding the death of the Khaliph Mehdí, but the most probable seems to be, that he broke his back in pursuing an antelope

* Rúdbár is a name applied to many districts in Persia which lie along the banks of a river.

† City of Rúdbár. ‡ See Ibn Kuteibah Yákút, &c. § He died A.D. 784.

|| In the Murásid-u-l-Iṭṭilá, the interval between Ariyúhán or Zamḥaand el Rúd is stated at 10 farsakhs; perhaps this may be an error for 20, the words being nearly similar in Arabic.

through the low door-way of a ruin whilst hunting in this district.* Of the site of the village of Rafáz, where the Khaliph had his summer hunting-place,† I have no indication. At the time when Yákút compiled his geographical lexicon,‡ about A.D. 1200, the traces of this tomb were hardly visible; and it is not surprising, therefore, that in the present day not only should the place of interment be unknown, but that the very legend of the illustrious dead should have altogether vanished.

February 21st.—From Rúdbár I marched 22 miles to the Şahráí-Lort. The road rising from the bed of the Sírwán river traversed a range of hills, thickly wooded with the Belút, which divided the plain of Sírwán from the little valley of Bádráí. From the summit of these hills the magnificent range of Kebír-kúh first bursts upon the view, a sublime spectacle; the mountains, at this their north-western extremity, soaring up almost perpendicularly to a height which I suspect to be unequalled in the entire range. The peak of the hill, upon its northern face, was stated to be covered with perpetual snow; and this I do not believe to be the case with any other mountain, except the Kúhi-Mungasht, in the whole chain of Zagros, south of Zoháb. Two valleys, divided by a narrow range, and each watered by a petty stream, which falls into the Sírwán river, are successively passed on descending from the oak-wooded hills; they are named Bádráí and Káká-gáwan. Another little chain is crossed beyond the stream of Káká-gáwan, and the road from thence descends into the plain of Lort. I consider this space, intervening between Sírwán and Lort, to be the most difficult of transit upon the entire line between Zagros and Susiana; but still it is perfectly practicable to wheeled carriages. At the entrance of the plain of Lort is passed a spacious building, which is said to contain the body of Jábir Ansár, one of the Aş-háb, or companions of the prophet;§ though how this holy personage should have found his way into the centre of Lúristán is not attempted to be explained. The Şahráí-Lort is covered with the cemeteries of Lúrish I'liyát, where I had occasion to observe the custom, which prevails throughout Persia, of representing symbolically upon the gravestone the sex, character, and occupation of the deceased, but nowhere so curiously and elaborately expressed as in these rude monuments of the Lúrish tribes. Thus, upon one tombstone, I remarked the following

* See D'Herbelot, in the title Mahadi.

† See Tárikhi-Tabarí, Pers. MS.

‡ The Mu'jamu-l-Buldán. He afterwards condensed his great lexicon into a smaller compass, adding many particulars regarding the territory of Baghdád, and gave it the name of Murásidu-l-I'ttilá. My copy of the MS. states positively that the epitome, with its additions, was composed by Yákút himself. In Europe it is generally supposed to have been the work of Ibn 'Abdi-l-Haqq.

§ See D'Herbelot, in the title Giaber.

designs, all very rudely engraven, but still sufficiently marked to denote their true signification. First—a chief, attended by a few followers, shooting a lion that had fastened on the haunches of a deer; secondly—hounds pursuing in full chase a herd of antelopes; thirdly—a falconer flying his hawk at a partridge; fourthly—a company of horsemen, armed as if for a foray; fifthly—a band of women dancing the *chupí*;* and the elegy of glyphs was closed by a ring, a rosary, and a comb, toothed upon one side, such as is used by men in Persia; this last being the distinctive mark of the male sex; as the double-toothed comb is of the female. There were a multitude of other devices among the tombstones, some of them very curious, all of which I carefully noted, but have not time here to enumerate. The obelisks, and domes also, were uniformly decked with a wreath of woman's tresses, which, waving in the breeze, appeared to me a far more pleasing record of funereal grief than the fanciful devices of the sculptured slabs. The plain of Lort is of great extent, sloping down gradually to the valley of the Kerkhah river, but it is badly supplied with water, and therefore thinly inhabited by the Fáilí tribes.

February 22nd.—I moved on 20 miles, in a S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction, along the Sahráí-Lort, gradually descending all the way to the camp of Mírzá Buzurg, the governor of Písh-kúh, which was pitched in the plain of Şeimarraḥ, on the banks of the Kerkhah river. The plain of Şeimarraḥ is of great extent, stretching N.W. and S.E. about 40 miles, and varying from 5 to 10 miles in breadth, between Kebír-kúh and the Kerkhah. Geographically considered, it is included in Pushti-kúh; but Mohammed 'Alí Mírzá annexed it to Písh-kúh, and the Wálís have never since been able to recover it. Lort and Şeimarraḥ now form the frontier districts. Şeimarraḥ is cultivated by about 300 families of the Amalah division of Písh-kúh; and it also affords winter pasturage to at least 1000 families from the other tribes of Lúristán. Mírzá Buzurg had left his camp to meet the prince at Jáidar, whom I was also proceeding to join, but I was very hospitably entertained by his people.

February 23rd.—Sending on the troops to the bridge of Gámáshán, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs, I rode across the plain, with a guide, in a S.W. direction, to the ruined city of Şeimarraḥ, which is usually called, by the Lúrs, Darah Shahr, the city of the vale; or Shahri-Khusraú, the city of Khusraú† Parvíz. Şeimarraḥ is situated at the distance of about 8 miles in a direct line from the right bank of the Kerkhah, in a gorge of the mountains of Sheikh Mákán, which form an outer rampart to Kebír Kúh; as, in the

* For a description of this dance see Rich's 'Kurdistan,' vol. i. p. 282.

† Chosroës of the Greeks. F.S.

case of Sírván, Kálarag does to Milá-Gáwan. The locality of these two cities of Sírván and Şeimarrah is, indeed, singularly identical; and so precisely similar in character also are the ruins, that any description would be but a repetition of my former remarks. At Şeimarrah, however, the ruins are somewhat more extensive, giving the idea of a city of greater consequence; and the direction of the streets and bazars, and the position of the káraván-seráis and principal edifices can be traced with greater accuracy than amid the ruins of Sírván, where the buildings are so heaped together into a dense and confused mass, that a perception of their general design is unattainable. A fortress (of which the superstructure appears to be the work of later times), a large quadrangular enclosure (the Maidán, probably, of the city), and a mass of building known by the name of Takhti-Khusraú (Khusraú's throne), are the principal ruins which attract observation. A massive wall, also, has been thrown across the jaws of the gorge, which must have rendered the position of the city, shut in on all other sides by natural defences of an almost insurmountable character, one of extreme strength and security. The reputed founder of Şeimarrah, among the Lúrs, is Khusraú Parvız. Innumerable traditions are current regarding the adventures of Shírín and Ferhád at this Kishlák, or winter residence of the Sásánian monarch; and a ruin is pointed out, among the rugged precipices south of the city, where Khusraú is said to have placed his queen, in jealous fear of the enamoured boldness of Ferhád, and the spot is still called Kasri-Shírín. Şeimarrah appears to have been for a time the capital of the province of Másabadán. I regard it as the Sambana (a corruption of Sabadán) of Diodorus,* which Alexander passed on his route from Susa, three marches before reaching the Bœotian colony of Celônæ (Sírván or Keílún). It would also appear to represent the strong fastness in the hills east of Ctesiphon to which Khusraú Parvız sent his wives and children when the emperor Heraclius threatened his capital.† At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia it seems to have been named, indifferently, Şeimarrah and Máh Sabadán; at least, the capture of the fort of Máh Sabadán, described by Tabarí, will only suit this place; and, in the other historians, the victory is usually denominated the conquest of Şeimarrah. In the eighth or ninth century of Christ, Şeimarrah sank before the rising greatness of Mihrgán Kudağ; and, though it continues to be mentioned by all the Arabian geographers, it does not appear ever to have recovered much importance. At the commencement of the fourteenth century it was in ruins.‡

* Diod. Sic., book xvii. chap. 110.

† Theophanes, p. 269.

‡ See Nuzhat-ul-Kulúb.

In a gorge of the hills, distant scarcely 2 miles south of Šeimarrah, are the remains of another city, precisely similar in appearance, as I have heard, to those of Šeimarrah: the place is called Tangi-Sikán; but I did not learn of the existence of the ruins until it was too late to visit them. Although I have no positive evidence upon the subject, I cannot doubt that these ruins represent the site of Mihrgán Kudak, the see, in the ninth century, of a Christian bishop, under the Nestorian metropolitan of Susiana.* The Arabians wrote the name Mīhrjān Kudhak; and seem to refer to the place as immediately contiguous to Šeimarrah, an indication which will suit no other spot but Tangi-Sikán. This is the town which, in our translation of Idrisi,† is named Mahargiafendec.

The bridge over the Kerkhah, named the Púli-Gámáshán, bears nearly E. of Šeimarrah, at the distance of 8 miles. An ancient bridge formerly existed here, called Púli-Khusraú; the remains of two buttresses are still visible, and I should regard them, from their appearance, as coeval with the building of the Sásanian cities of Sírván and Šeimarrah. The bridge which at present crosses the river is one of the best I have seen in Persia. It was built by Husein Kháni-Buzurg, the famous Wálí of Lúristán, in A.H. 1008, as is commemorated upon a small tablet built into the parapet. The river is here much contracted, and a single arch is thrown across the bed of the stream of about 80 feet in width. An arch of almost an equal span is necessary, however, to connect this with the right-hand bank; and, on the other side, a long line of smaller arches forms a sort of causeway along the shelving ground. The entire length of the bridge is 165 paces; and spacious rooms are constructed in all the buttresses, where, without much difficulty, I could have quartered the Gúrán regiment. The name of Gámáshán is a mere corruption of the title of the river in the early part of its course, where it is called Gámás, or Gámásh-áb, from the pretended representation of a cow (gá) and a fish (más) on the rock of Chihil-Nábálighán, above the spring of Chashmi-Kázim,‡ the real source of the Kerkhah.

February 24th.—From the Púli-Gámáshán I marched 4 farsakhs to Jáidar: the direct road to Dizfúl, from the bridge, follows down the course of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, distant 6 farsakhs; but I was obliged to deviate to Jáidar, to join the prince's camp, and take command of the assembled troops. The Káshghán river joins the Kerkhah, or, as it is called in this

* See Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, vol. ii. p. 460.

† Idrisi, p. 199. A.D. 1600.

‡ In the *Mu'jam-ul-Buldán* it is stated that these figures are actually carved in the rock near Niháwand; but I cannot discover that any such sculptures exist at the present day, though the story is still current. It is curious that many old coins should be found in Persia with this device of a bull and fish.

part of its course, the A'bi-Seïmarrah, and corruptedly Şad-marrah, about one mile above the Púli-Gámáshán; and the road runs along parallel to its course the whole way to Jáïdar; the track is extremely difficult, ascending, for about 2 farsakhs, a steep and rocky pass, which is barely practicable to loaded mules. From the summit of the mountains, which form the outer rampart of the chain of Zagros, the Káshghán river, on the left-hand, is seen at the depth of some thousand feet, foaming and struggling amid the most tremendous precipices, as it forces its way through the range, and descends in a succession of magnificent cataracts into the valley of the Kerkhah. The crown of the hill has been enclosed with a double line of wall, to command the pass; and were these old walls, although in ruins, to be defended with any firmness, at the present day, I consider that the pass is not to be forced. On descending gradually from the range, the open country of Jáïdar is entered—a plain, considerably elevated above the valley of the Kerkhah, but still much lower than the high table-land beyond the ridges to the eastward. A considerable hamlet, called 'Amárat, is here passed; and, a short distance farther on, I reached the meadow-land along the banks of the river, where the Kirmánsháh troops were encamped.

The situation of the camp was very striking, the tents being pitched along the left bank of the Káshghán, where the river debouches through a chasm in the hills into the plain of Jáïdar. The remains of a bridge are visible at this place, one of the most massive I have seen in Persia. It was situated in the very jaws of the gorge, and consisted of a single arch thrown across from rock to rock; the two buttresses now alone remain, jutting out into the water, and formed of such tremendous blocks of hewn stone, that, although exposed to the whole force of the current for perhaps fifteen centuries, not one has been removed from its place. It is called the Púli-Shápúr, or Púli-Dukhtar; and is ascribed to Shápúr, the second king of the Sásanian dynasty, although the Lúrs have also a love-story to explain its appellation of the Maiden's Bridge. I conceive it to be a work of the Sásánians, forming the thoroughfare from Bísutún and Kermánsháh to their favoured cities of Susiana. The Káshghán river spreads itself out immediately below the gorge, and, dividing into two arms, thus admits of being forded, except during a few months in the spring, when its waters are unusually swollen by the melting of the snows. At this time the stream, though very rapid, was not more than three feet deep; and the passage, therefore, of the troops and artillery, from Kermánsháh, was effected with some delay, but without any accident. The plain of Jáïdar is stated to be a perfect paradise in the spring, as well from its verdant herbage as from the quantities of wild flowers that enamel its

surface. It is cultivated by some 300 families of Deh-Nishíns of the 'Amalah division of Písh-kúh; and also affords winter pasture to the great tribe of Hasanáwand.

February 28th.—After halting three days at Jáidar we struck our camp and marched 4 farsakhs to A'bi-Garm; the first 2 farsakhs were along the table-land at the top of the hills, through an open country, which is all included under the name of Jáidar. At the pass which conducts down the hills into the valley of the Kerkhah we joined the high-road conducting from Dizfúl to Khorram-ábád. From this point to the plain of Khorram-ábád, a distance of about 20 farsakhs, the country is very mountainous and difficult; but still it is practicable to artillery, and forms the usual route by which the governor of Kirmánsháh marches upon Khúzistán. The tract of country at the top of the hills is very desolate and barren, and is therefore called the Chul, or desert of Jáidar: and a spot is also shown which is believed by the Lúrs to mark the site of Sodom, being called Shahri-Lút* (Lot's city). We now began to descend the range which I had already crossed between the Kerkhah and Jáidar; and though the pass of Chuli-Jáidar is considered to be easiest in the entire chain, which, as may be seen on a reference to the map, extends from Sunbulah to Dizfúl, yet it was not without great delay and difficulty that we succeeded in getting down the guns. A company of pioneers, however, might make a good road of the pass in a few days. From the foot of the hills, another farsakh brought us across an undulating plain to our encamping-place, on the banks of the little stream of A'bi-Garm, near the point of its confluence with the Kerkhah. The direction of our march from the camp at Jáidar was due S.

February 29th.—We this day marched 7 farsakhs, along the banks of the Kerkhah, to Púli-tang, the great range of Káilún running parallel to our route, upon the left hand, and throwing out detached branches into the plain, at some points to the very banks of the river. The ancient high-road from Susa, through Máh Sabadán, led along the right bank of the Kerkhah, between Kebír-kúh and the river; and though the road we were now pursuing was far from difficult, yet the track upon the other bank seemed more open and commodious. The Púli-tang, or "Bridge of the Chasm," is a most remarkable spot; the broad stream of the Kerkhah, in general about 80 or 100 yards in width, here, for the space of 300 paces, forces its way through a narrow chasm, which a bold cragsman may spring across with ease; indeed I saw a young Kurd, on this occasion, leap across the river, to prove, as he said, that the feat was practicable; though it was

* A number of desert places in Persia are thus named Shahri-Lút.

rather nervous to look at him, for the crags were very slippery, and had he missed his footing he must have been dashed to pieces. The cleft is now about 150 feet in depth; the sides are honeycombed in the most fantastic manner, as though the chasm had been gradually worn down in the rock by the action of the water; and the river boils and foams below, in its narrow bed, as we might fancy of Styx or Phlegethon. A little arch has been thrown across the cleft, which forms the great thoroughfare for the Lúrish I'iyát, in their passage between their summer pastures, near Khorram-ábád, and the warm plains beyond the Kerkhah, where they encamp in winter. It was by this bridge, I believe, that Antigonus passed the Kerkhah in his memorable retreat from Badaca across the mountains into Media. The short road, which is described by Diodorus as conducting from Susa into Media, through the mountains of the Cossæans, "difficult, narrow, precipitous, through a hostile tract, badly furnished with necessaries, but short and cool,"* was of course the route up the valley of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, and from thence across the mountains to Khorram-ábád; and this is also the track across Mount Charban, which measured, according to Pliny, between Susa and Ecbatana, 380 Roman miles,† a statement that is strictly accurate; but I doubt if Antigonus pursued this exact route in his retreat from Badaca, for, in the face of an enemy, he could scarcely have traversed, in nine days, the space of about 180 miles, intervening by the high-road between the ruins which I suppose to represent Badaca and the first inhabited region of Media, at Khorram-ábád. As he appears to have altogether slighted the power of the mountaineers, and the reported difficulties of the country, I conclude that he took the most direct route that would conduct him therefore from the Púli-tang to the pass of Káilún, and so on, through the heart of the mountains, along the road which I have laid down in my map; and which is still sometimes followed by travellers with light baggage. The distance along this road will correspond with his nine marches; and the place where he was in danger of losing his whole army will thus fall in with the position of the steep and precipitous defile of Káilún, which exactly answers to the description of Diodorus.

March 1st.—From Púli-tang to Kal'ahi-Rizá there are two roads, the one along the banks of the Kerkhah, and across a most precipitous range of low gypsum hills, which are impracticable even to a loaded mule; and the other making a considerable detour to the left, to cross the hills by an easy pass, and rejoining the other road at the ford of the A'bi-Zál. The A'bi-Zál is dis-

* *Diod. Sic.*, book xix. chap. 19.† *Pliny*, book vi. chap. 27.

tant 8 miles from the Púli-tang by the near road, and 15 by the circuitous track round the hills. It is an impetuous mountain-torrent, which rises high up in the fastnesses of Kali-Asped and Anárah-rúd, and, after a course of perhaps 50 miles, falls into the Kerkhah 3 miles below the point where it is here crossed, on the road to Dizfúl. I have collected all my memoranda regarding the Kerkhah, which some late geographers have doubted to be identical with the river of Kermánsháh, into a separate paper, and this must excuse the hasty notice which I give its tributaries; but still I cannot pass over the A'bi-Zál without endeavouring to rectify an error of nomenclature which has crept into all our maps, and thereby created the greatest confusion. The river of Dizfúl is now invariably called by our geographers the A'bi-Zál, but this is certainly incorrect; neither in any Oriental author nor among the inhabitants of Susiana do I find that such a title ever has been or is applied to it; and, what is not a little curious, I cannot help suspecting that the error, which has now grown universal, has arisen from a faulty passage in Petit de la Croix's translation of the History of Tímúr, where, in describing the march of the Tátár army from Khorram-ábád, he says, "Tímúr, in 11 days, arrived at the bridge over the river A'bi-Zál: *the town at the bridge is called Dizfúl.*" Not having Sharafu-d-dín at hand to refer to, I cannot say whether this clause, "*the town at the bridge is called Dizfúl,*" is a wrong translation, an interpolation in the text, which the learned Frenchman copied, or an error of the original historian. Khwándemír, however, who evidently drew his materials from Sharhud-dín, has no such statement; and the A'bi-Zál, to which he alludes in describing this march of Tímúr, is certainly the river of that name, which I passed between Jáidar and Dizfúl. Mr. Long, in his 'Memoir on the Site of Susa,'* states that Colonel Chesney believed the A'bi-Zál to join the Kerkhah at Hawízah; and the instructions of that distinguished traveller to Major Estcourt, published in the Euphrates-papers, appear to imply the same opinion. But this idea, I cannot help thinking, has also arisen from the mistake regarding the name of A'bi-Zál. Colonel Chesney was doubtless informed in Susiana that the A'bi-Zál disembogues itself into the Kerkhah, as it really does; but the river to which his informant alluded, under this name, was quite distinct from the A'bi-Dizfúl, which Colonel Chesney intended to imply. The bridge over the A'bi-Zál, which Tímúr crossed, still exists; but the pathway along its banks to the bridge we found to be impassable to guns, and our artillery therefore was transported across the river, by a very difficult and dangerous ford, about

* Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 265.

1½ mile lower down. The bed of this stream is filled with immense masses of rock, brought down by the strength of the current from the neighbouring mountains; and the force of the water is at the same time so excessive that accidents frequently occur in crossing it. The water is salt, from the bed of gypsum, I suppose, which it traverses; it is, however, of the most pellucid clearness, from which it is said to derive its name of Zál, a contraction of the Arabic Zálál, signifying "pure."

Our place of encampment at Kal'ahi-Rizá, in a spacious plain of the same name, was distant one farsakh from the ford of the A'bi-Zál; and we had now bid adieu to the Kerkhah, which, from the point of confluence with that stream, pursues a direction nearly southerly, while we bent our steps S.E., towards Dizfúl. There is no encamping-place for I'liyát between Jáidar and the plain of Rizá; and even here there are not more than 100 families of Dirikáwands, who pasture their flocks in winter at the foot of the hills of Kirkí. From the bridge of the A'bi-Zál, the short road to Khorram-ábád strikes off to the Káílún pass, where it ascends the mountains; this track effects a saving of about 10 farsakhs in the distance between Dizfúl and Khorram-ábád, but it is so difficult that it is never attempted by Káfilahs; and not often even by travellers, if accompanied by baggage. The Kal'ahi-Rizá is an old dilapidated fort, surrounded by the ruins of a small village. Kebír-kúh, ending in a peak, called Dumi-sháh, does not extend beyond this point.

March 2nd.—The Prince moved on seven farsakhs, to the river of Balád-rúd. As great delay had taken place in crossing the guns over the A'bi-Zál, and they did not reach the camp till midnight, I made a march with the troops of only 4½ farsakhs to the plain of Huseíní. We were now visibly opening into the low country of Khúzistán: the road, throughout this stage, was over a ground of soft gypsum, which afforded a very easy passage for the guns: there were two deep and broad ravines, however, called Dukhtar-wajíh (the beautiful maid), and Tiktikí (from the dropping of a small cascade), which cost us some trouble to cross. The plain of Huseíní contains the ruins of a small village, from which it derives its name.

March 3rd.—I rejoined the Prince at Balád-rúd, making an easy march of 2½ farsakhs; the road was good throughout, leading along an open plain to the stream of Balád-rúd, where were the remains of a bridge of brick-work, apparently of no very ancient date. The A'bi-Balád-rúd rises in the hills of Mángerrah and Sháh-zádah Ahmed, and after a course of about forty miles, flows into the river of Dizfúl, a short distance below that town: it was at this time a mere rivulet, containing scarcely a foot's depth

of water, but when there is any heavy rain in the hills, it comes down in a torrent of tremendous force.

Some years ago, when the late Sháh of Persia was crossing this stream with a large body of troops, the torrent, or *síláb*, as it is called, came down suddenly, and at once swept off fifty horsemen, and the force was delayed for two days upon its banks, during which time it was impossible to cross from one side to the other. The bed of the A'bi-Balád-rúd is covered with pebbles filled with little fossil shells: they are called *Sangi-Birinj* (the rice stone), from the resemblance of the fossil shells to grains of rice, and are in much request throughout Persia for the head of the *Nárgíl* pipe,* which is scarcely ever, indeed, composed of any thing else but this stone, set in silver. The *Sangi-Birinj* is also found in the river of Shuster,† but neither in such quantities nor of so good a quality, that is, so full of shells as at Balád-rúd, and I do not believe that it exists in any other river in Persia. A hill fort called the *Kal'áhi-Tangawán*, overhangs Balád-rúd, which has the appearance of great strength; but as it is very indifferently supplied with water, it is of no repute in the country.

March 4th.—From Balád-rúd the road winds round the low sand hills at the foot of the *Kal'áhi-Tangawán*, and then enters on the immense level flat of *Šusiana*. The distance from Balád-rúd to *Dizfúl* is 6 farsakhs, across a plain covered with the most beautiful herbage, and which is called *Šahrāi-Lur*. This plain is at present without water, and uncultivated; but the traces of old canals are to be seen traversing it in all directions, indications of its former fertility. The village of *Šalih-ábád*, containing about 100 houses, and defended by a mud wall, is passed at the distance of 2 farsakhs from *Dizfúl*; it is watered by a small *kanát*,‡ brought from the hills, and is surrounded by a limited extent of cultivation. There are a few mounds, and other remains of old buildings at *Šalih-ábád*, representing, probably, the *Lur*, or *Biládu-l-Lur*, of the oriental geographers, which is laid down by them at the distance of 2 farsakhs from *Andámish*. Owing to an ignorance of the line of route, *Lúr* has been generally placed in the maps upon the *Dizfúl* river: some modern geographers, even, have supposed that the ruins of the ancient capital of *Luristán* might be found here,§ but from the appearance of the remains, I should conjecture *Lur* to have been a mere village, colonised from the neighbouring mountains: it seems, however, to have given its

* The *Nárgíl* pipe is that in which the cocoa-nut is used, instead of the usual glass bowls.

† I write the name *Shuster*, as it is now commonly sounded—we find it in books written in a number of different ways,

‡ A subterraneous canal.

§ Williams on the *Geography of Ancient Asia*, p. 238.

name to the surrounding plain, which, as I have stated, is still called *Šahrāi-Lur*.

We pitched our camp round the burj, or tower, erected by *Moḥammed A'li Mírzá*, on the right bank of the river, without entering the town. *Dizfúl* has been often described; it is now the chief city of *Khúzistán*, and may contain about 20,000 inhabitants. The river of *Dizfúl* is laid down with sufficient accuracy in *Kinneir's* map; it is formed of two branches, which rise in the territory of *Burú-jird*, and uniting at *Bahreïn*,* pass into the mountains between the hills of *Ush turán Kúh*† to the right, and *Miyánah Kúh*‡ to the left. The passage of the river through the mountains, from this point to the plain of *Dizfúl*, is along, perhaps the most elevated and precipitous line in the whole range: it forces its way through a succession of chasms and gorges, and the track along its bank is utterly impracticable: indeed, this part of the range of *Zagros* is so very precipitous that there is only one single pathway conducting across it, from *Dizfúl* to *Burú-jird*. I have laid down the line of this track in my map, but I must observe, that it is only followed by the *Bakhtiyári-Í'liyát*, on foot, in their annual migrations: it is not to be traversed by a horseman, and is considered the most difficult of all the mountain pathways. The river of *Dizfúl* breaks into the plain between the hill forts of *Tangawán* and *Ķal'ah-sháhi*, and passing by the town of *Dizfúl*, joins the *Kuran* at *Bandi-Kír*.§ I believe this stream to be the *Coprates*, but I shall not discuss the very intricate subject of the rivers of *Susiana*, until I have finished my remarks on the positive geography of the province.

Dizfúl I consider to be a *Sásánian* town, founded at the same time as the bridge was built across the river to conduct to the new capitals of *Jundi-Shápúr* and *Shuster*. It was originally called *Āndámish*,|| and seems to have retained this name till the thirteenth century: *Hamdu-llah Mustaufi*,¶ indeed, who wrote about A.D. 1325, is the earliest author in whom I find the name of *Dizfúl*. It is not very safe to trust the etymologies of the orientals; but the most probable derivation of *Dizfúl*, or *Dizpúl*, seems to be the bridge of *Diz*; which name, although signifying generally, a fort, is applied in particular to a most remarkable scarped rock, situated near the river,** about 30 miles N. of the present town, and still celebrated throughout *Persia*, as the

* "The two rivers."

† "Camel's hill," so called from its shape.

‡ "Middle hill," so called because it connects *Ush turán-Kúh* with *Kúhi-Zardah*.

§ Bitumen-dyke, so called from the stones being cemented with bitumen: it is an error to call this place *Bandi-Kíl*.

|| See *Idrísí*, *Yákút*, *Jai'hání*, &c.

¶ Author of the *Núzha'fú-l-Ķulúb*.

** I suppose the river to have been called from the fort *A'bi-Diz*, or *Nahri-Diz*.

strongest hill-fort in the kingdom. Ra'násh was an old suburb of Andámish, on the right bank of the river, and the name still pertains to the ruins. I find it conjectured in a modern Persian manuscript,* that Dizfúl may represent the city of Antábulus, which is said in old authors to be met with near Sús, or Susa. I have never met with the name elsewhere, but, if it really did exist, it would seem more probable that it applied to Jundi-Shápúr, which was built, according to Abú-l-faraj, after the model of Constantinople, and may therefore have been called by that name by the Greek students in its schools, Antábulus being a corruption of the word Constantinopolis: this, however, is quite conjectural, and I very much doubt that such a city as Antábulus ever existed in Susiana.

March 9th.—After remaining five days at Dizfúl, I rode over to examine the ruins of Sús.† The road for 10 miles runs along the right bank of the Dizfúl river, which here makes a remarkable bend to the westward: the A'bi-Balád-rúd falls into it at the seventh mile. This part of the plain is covered with villages, and is well cultivated; being watered by canals, derived both from the river of Dizfúl and the Kerkhah: the great canal which conveys water from the latter is named Nahri-Hormasín,‡ and is said to be derived from a point about 4 farsakhs above Sús; and the remains of other water-courses, now unused, are to be seen intersecting the plain in all directions. At the tenth mile from Dizfúl, the river makes an abrupt turn to the S.E., and the road then leaves it, and stretches across the plain to the great mound of Sús, which is, from this point, distinctly visible on the horizon. As I approached the ruins, I was particularly struck with the extraordinary height of this mound, which is indeed so great as to overpower all the other ruins in the vicinity. It forms the north-western extremity of a large irregular platform of mounds, which appear to have constituted the fort of the city, while the great tumulus represents the site of the inner citadel: by a rough calculation with the sextant, I found the height of the lower platform to be between 80 and 90 feet, and that of the great mound to be about 165 feet: the platform, which is square, I estimated to measure 2 miles and $\frac{1}{2}$: the mound, which I paced, measured 1100 yards round the base, and 850 round the summit. The slope is very steep,—so steep indeed, as only to admit of ascent by two pathways. Upon the slope of the western face of the mound is a slab, with a cuneiform inscription of thirty-three lines in length engraved on it, and in the complicated character of

* Tazkarati-Shusteriyah, a work written by a native of Shuster about 100 years ago.

† In the country the name is now pronounced Shús, but in the Geographers it is always written Sús.

‡ For Hormuzein, i. e. the two Hormuzes? F.S.

the third column of the Persepolitan tablets : this is stated to have been a part of an obelisk, which existed not many years ago, erect upon the summit of the mound, and the broken fragments of the other parts of it are seen in the plain below. I saw three of the Babylonian sepulchral urns, imbedded firmly in the soil, at a point where a ravine had been recently formed by the rain, in the face of the mound : in another place was exposed to view a flooring of brickwork, a few feet below the surface, and the summit of the mound was thickly strewn with broken pottery, glazed tiles, and kiln-dried bricks. Beyond the elevated platform extend the ruins of the city, probably 6 or 7 miles in circumference : they present the same appearance of irregular mounds, covered with bricks, and broken pottery, and here and there the fragment of a shaft is seen projecting through the soil.

I had been very anxious, on visiting Sús, to obtain a correct copy of the famous bilingual inscription upon the black stone,* which was said to be preserved at the tomb of Daniel, and which had always appeared to me of the greatest importance to verify the recent discoveries regarding the cuneiform character : I was extremely disappointed, therefore, to find that this most precious relic no longer existed. It is well known that the inhabitants of Susiana attached the most profound reverence to this extraordinary stone, and fiercely resented any attempt to rob them of it, believing that the prosperity of the province depended upon its remaining in their hands. After the failure of Sir Robert Gordon to obtain possession of it, in 1812, it remained buried for some years to secure it from observation, but having been disinterred by the guardians of the tomb, it appears that in 1832 it was wantonly destroyed by a stranger Sayyid,† in the hope of discovering within it some hidden treasure : the whole story is very curious : the fragments (for it was blown to pieces with powder) were carefully collected, and reinterred within the precincts of the tomb ; but immediately afterwards the province was almost depopulated by the plague : the bridge of Shuster suddenly broke, and the famous dam at Hawízah was carried away ; all which disasters were, of course, ascribed to the destruction of the talisman : and as this Sayyid, also, was generally believed to have been a Firingí in disguise, I found the rancour against Europeans, in connexion with the black stone, bitter and extensive. The tomb of Daniel has been often described : it is a modern building, on the banks of the Shápúr river (or Sháwer, as it is generally called), immediately below the great mound : several bricks, stamped with arrow-headed characters, which have been brought from the ruins are built into it ; in the court is preserved a capital of white marble, also brought from the great mound ; and outside, on the

* See Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 420.

† A descendant of Mohammed.

banks of the stream, are found two blocks, one covered with a mutilated cuneiform inscription, and the other sculptured with the figures of a man and two lions, which have been described by Sir W. Ouseley, from Capt. Monteith's relation.* To the N. of the ruins there are mounds and tapahs in all directions, among which are the Tali-Suleimán, Duwásí, and Gubá, and to the S. the plain is covered in the same manner, seven remarkable tumuli, near each other, being called Haft Chágán, and another very lofty mound Buláhiyah.

Near the tomb of Daniel is a ruined Imám Zádah,† two of the corners of which are based upon broken capitals, like that preserved in the court of the shrine, and under a Konár-tree‡ in the neighbourhood I perceived another of the same sort. I have thus noticed, I believe, all the relics of antiquity that are to be found at Sús; they are certainly less than might have been looked for, but they afford very satisfactory evidence of the site of an ancient capital of great extent. The river of Shápúr, to which I have alluded, rises about 10 miles N. of Sús: it flows in a deep narrow bed, by the tomb of Daniel, and laves the western face of the great mound. At this point are the remains of a bridge of no very ancient structure, and immediately below the bridge is a ford, by which alone, I was assured, from near its source to the point where it falls into the Kuran,§ in the neighbourhood of Weís, can the A'bi-Shápúr be crossed: the water is considered by the Persians to be particularly heavy and unwholesome, and in this respect to bear a striking contrast to the Kerkhah, which flows at some distance to the W., and is believed to be little inferior to the Kuran in the lightness and excellence of its water. We are informed by the orientals,|| that when Abú Músá Ash'arí took possession of Sús, in the 17th year of the Hijrah, he dug a canal from this stream, and deposited in a grave at the bottom of it the coffin which was said to contain the bones of the prophet Daniel, and which was there held in great veneration, and afterwards letting the water into the artificial bed, effectually secured the grave from profanation. All authors, indeed, agree that the grave was in the bed of the stream, yet Benjamin of Tudela pretends, that in his day, the coffin was kept suspended over the river, to pacify the

* Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. i, p. 423.

† Sepulchral chapel in honour of a saint. F.S.

‡ Rhamnus Jujuba, or Lotus. F.S.

§ The name of this river has been hitherto always written Karoon: the true pronunciation which corresponds with the orthography is Kuran. [Kárún in *Jehánnumá*, p. 454. F.S.]

|| See *Ashkálu-l-'Alám* (maps of the world) Arab MS, written by Abú-l Kásim, Ibn Ahmed, El Jaiháni, in about A.H. 400, and translated into Persian by Alí-Ibn-'Abdu-l-Salám. This is the work, I believe, translated into English by Sir W. Ouseley under the title of Ibn Haukal's *Geography*. [That work is entitled '*Suwaru-l-Buldán*,' a phrase synonymous with *Ashkálu-l-'Alám*. (*Ouseley's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 554.) F.S.]

Jews, upon either side, who were contending for the holy relic: but I have no space here to detail the numerous stories relative to this shrine. The A'bi-Shápúr is certainly not only navigable from Sús to the point of its junction with the Kuran, but from the facility which its deep and narrow bed, nearly level with the surface of the plain, affords for draught, is particularly suited to navigation. The river Kerkhah is distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the great mound of Sús, and I could discover no trace of building in the interval between the rivers.

N.W. of Sús, and at the distance of about 2 miles from the right bank of the Kerkhah are some very extensive ruins, which are known by the name of I'wáni-Kerkh (the palace of Kerkh), or more generally simply I'wán, the palace. From the many descriptions which I have received, as well as from the view which I obtained of them with a large telescope, from the summit of the mound of Sús, I judge them to be Sásánian. The great ruin of I'wán appears to have been a palace, of the same style of building as the remains at Kaşri-Shírin, Sírwán, and Séimarrah. There are also said to be a few mounds, apparently of more ancient date; and a canal cut in the rock, which conducted water from the Kerkhah to the city is spoken of, moreover, as a very extraordinary work. The ruins of a bridge, which crossed the river, are to be seen opposite to I'wán; the place is called Pái Púl, or the foundation* of the bridge, the broken buttresses now alone remaining above the water. The ruins of Sús and the surrounding country are celebrated for their beautiful herbage: it was difficult to ride along the Shápúr for the luxuriant grass that clothed its banks; and all around, the plain was covered with a carpet of the richest verdure. The climate too, at this season, was singularly cool and pleasant, and I never remember to have passed a more delightful evening than in my little tent upon the summit of the great mound of Sús—alone, contemplating the wrecks of time that were strewed around me, and indulging in the dreams of by-gone ages. In the afternoon of the ensuing day I prepared to return to Dizfúl, which from the summit of the mound was distinctly visible, bearing N. 38. E. I proceeded in a direct line from the eastern extremity of the ruins to the river of Dizfúl, to determine its nearest proximity to the city, and I reached the bank at $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. From thence I galloped along the bank of the river, and got into the camp at dark.

March 13th.—We marched 4 farsakhs to Kuhnak. Crossing the river of Dizfúl, by a magnificent bridge of about 330 paces in length, we traversed the town, and entered on a well-cultivated plain to the eastward. At the distance of 2 farsakhs, we met with

* The foot of the bridge.

the village of Sháh-ábád, on our right, which I have no hesitation in identifying with Jundi-Shápúr. In my after residence at Dizfúl, I made frequent visits to this place, for the purpose of examining the remains; and, although the site of the ancient city has now been for many centuries under cultivation, and there is no single ruin, therefore, in any state of moderate preservation, yet the extensive lines of mounds, and the numerous foundations of massive walls, are quite sufficient to verify the measurements of the geographers,* which indicate this exact position. It is not to be denied that there are some difficulties attending the identification of Jundi-Shápúr, which arise from the blunders of certain Persian writers, who appear to have been ignorant of its true position; † but, after a review of all the evidence, I find no reason to doubt of its being represented by Sháh-ábád. Jundi-Shápúr appears to have been founded by the first Shápúr, after his victory over the Emperor Valerian. It was enlarged into a great city by his seventh successor, Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf. During his reign (about A.D. 350), it became the see of a bishop of the Nestorian church, ‡ which had been instituted in Susiana a century before; and, when Jundi-Shápúr soon afterwards rose to be the chief city of the province, the seat of the metropolitan, which had formerly been fixed at Ahwáz, or, as it is called by the Syrians, Beth Lapet, § was transferred to it. The school of Jundi-Shápúr was renowned, during the reign of Anúshírván, through the East and West; || and the city continued, to the time of the Arab conquest, one of the great capitals of Susiana. It appears to have sunk before the rising greatness of Shuster, in the 13th century; and it is little mentioned in Oriental history after that time. Jundi-Shápúr was watered by some magnificent aqueducts, excavated at an immense depth in the solid rock, and derived from the river of Dizfúl, about 5 miles above that town. The water, which still flows in them, is now employed in irrigating the rice-fields. The present inhabitants of Khúzistán are so grossly ignorant, that I scarcely met with an individual familiar with the name even of Jundi-Shápúr, and it was altogether in vain, therefore, to seek for oral information regarding its site. Sháh-ábád, however, is traditionally believed in the province to represent the City of the Seven Sleepers ¶—a story which, wherever it prevails in the East, may be received as an evidence of antiquity.

* The measurements usually given are, 8 farsakhs from *Shuster*, and 2 farsakhs from the bridge of *Andámish* or *Dizfúl*.

† Hamdu-llah Mustáfi thus places *Jundi-Shápúr* on the river of Dizfúl.

‡ Asseman. Bib. Orient., tom. ii. p. 398; tom. iv. pp. 43, 44, and 421.

§ Asseman. Bib. Orient., tom. iv. p. 758.

|| See Gibbon, chap. xlii.

¶ See Tazkarati-Shusteriyah. The real City of the Seven Sleepers was *Ephesus*; but the story is attached traditionally to many other places in the East. See D'Herbelot, in *Ashab-i-Kahaf*.

At 2 farsakhs farther on, we reached our camp, near the ruined village of Kuhnak.

March 14th.—We continued our march 5 farsakhs, to the bank of the Kuran, over a plain of the richest soil, but perfectly uncultivated. A range of low sand-hills bounds the plain to the left, at a distance of about 2 farsakhs, and divides it from the hilly district of Sar Dasht, which stretches up to the foot of the great mountains. Upon the right was a vast level flat, as far as the eye could reach. A dry canal, which was derived from the Kuran, at the Bandi-Dukhtar, and formerly watered this tract of country, is passed, midway between Kuhnak and the river; a little ridge of sand-rock occurs, at the edge of the plain, and the road, crossing this, descends direct upon the river, the town of Shuster, which had been shut out from view by the ridge, appearing on the other side. The bridge of Shuster gave way at the rise of the waters in the winter of 1832; and, not having been repaired when I was there, we were obliged to bring the troops and guns across the river upon rafts, or kalaks, as they are called, supported on inflated skins. We pitched our camp along the pebbly beach, in the bed of the river; a most unsafe position, as a sudden rise of the waters would have swept it away bodily; but there was positively no other ground available. To the accounts of the city of Shuster itself, which have been already published, I have not much to add; but the very erroneous opinions which appear to exist regarding the river Kuran require to be rectified.

It would appear that Ardeshr Bábegán, or his son, Shápúr, after having founded Shuster, upon the left bank of the Kuran, in a bend of the river, excavated a deep and wide canal to the E. of the city, and thus divided the waters of the river. The artificial stream was derived from the Kuran, immediately above the town; and, defending it upon the eastern face, as the original bed did upon the western, it rendered the position one of extreme strength: but the city, situated on a rising ground, between the two arms, could have been but indifferently supplied with water, and a further undertaking, therefore, was necessary to remedy this defect. A massive band, or dyke, accordingly, was thrown across the original bed of the river, at the distance of about half-a-mile from the mouth of the canal, narrow outlets, or sluices, being left for the passage of a certain portion of the water. The consequence of this was, that the great body of the river was forced back into the artificial derivation. Another band was then thrown across the mouth of the canal, forming, as it were, a continuation of the line of the original bank, and raised precisely to the same height as the lower dyke. Here, too, the passage of the water was regulated by sluices; and the entire bed of the stream being now formed, as it were, into a vast reservoir, the mouth of a tunnel was opened into it, which had been excavated directly

through the hill of sand-rock forming the left bank of the river, between the two bands, and below the level of the water thus artificially elevated: a copious stream, of course, immediately flowed into the tunnel, and sufficient water was thus obtained for the supply of the town and the cultivation of a vast tract of country extending to the S. of it. Before either of the bands, however, were undertaken, and when the whole body of the river must have flowed in the artificial canal, the mouth of which had probably been deepened for the purpose, that part of the original bed between the two dykes which was intended to form the great reservoir was paved throughout with massive hewn stones, fastened with metal clamps, to prevent the further deepening of the river, and to give additional strength and security to the whole work.* Such, as far as I can gather from Oriental authors and a minute personal examination, has been the general design of the stupendous hydraulic works of Shuster. The course of the river has constantly changed as either of the dykes has given way and yielded a free passage to the waters, and, in that case, the level of the water in the great reservoir having fallen below the orifice of the tunnel, it has become, of course, altogether useless. When I was at Shuster a part of the lower band had given way, with the breaking of the bridge above it; and the level of the river having thus sunk several feet, the supply of water in the tunnel became reduced proportionably, and the lands S. of Shuster were thrown entirely out of cultivation. The band, however, has been since repaired; and I now understand that the tunnel, or Nahri-Dāriyān, as it is properly called, is quite full.

I must now explain the names and courses of these streams, which have been much confused by the Oriental geographers, and appear even to be scarcely understood at the present day. The artificial canal which now forms the left branch of the river is the famous Nahri Masrūkān of the Oriental geographers; it subsequently changed this title for Dú Dāngah (two parts), owing to its forming the channel for about two-sixths of the water, while the other four-sixths flowed in the original bed; and it is now called A'bi-Gargar, from the name of the eastern mahalluh of Shuster, which it waters. Originally this canal was protracted to the vicinity of Ahwáz, and there entirely absorbed in irrigation. It traversed upon this line during the early ages of Islam the great city of 'Askari-Mukram, 8 farsakhs from Shuster; † to the site of which, however, I have been only able to obtain this approximate indication. Subsequently it would seem that the Bandi-

* In Kinneir's Map the courses of the river and canal are reversed. He makes the western branch the canal, and the eastern the river; whereas, the western, or right branch, is in reality the river, and the eastern, or left branch, the canal. It is curious how, after visiting Shuster himself, he could have fallen into such an error.

† With regard to the Nahri-Masrūkān, I have compared the accounts of Jai'hání, Idri'sí, Yáku't, Abú-l-fedá, Ḥamdu-llah, and the Tazkarat-i-Shusteriyah.

Kaïsar must have given way, and that the great body of the river, flowing in the bed of the canal, had forced a passage into the old channel; for, at the commencement of the 13th century, we find the great river of Shuster, which rose near Isfahán, and disembogued into the Persian Gulf, named the Dujéili Masrúkan. Again, the march of Tímúr, who crossed the Dú Dángah on the third march from Shuster towards Rám Hormuz,* is not to be understood, except on the supposition that at that time the course of the stream made a much greater deviation to the eastward than at present. Altogether, the elaboration of the Nahri-Masrúkan is one of the most intricate and contradictory objects of research that I was ever engaged upon. Col. Chesney followed up the modern line of the canal from Bandi-Kír to Shuster, and I need add nothing, therefore, regarding its present course. The dyke at its mouth is now named Bandi-Sháh-zádah, from its having been repaired by the late Prince of Kirmánsháh; it seems to have been anciently called Bandi-Kaïsar. The original channel of the river which flows to the W. of Shuster is the Nahri-Tuster, or Dujéili-Tuster, of the geographers; it is the Chahár Dángah of Tímúr's march, and, during the last two centuries, it has been named Kuran. When I was at Shuster, owing to the partial destruction of the band, the Kuran contained about four-fifths of the entire body of water; at present, I understand it is reduced about two-thirds. Many bands were formerly constructed upon this stream, to divert the waters into channels to the E. and W., but the Bandi-Khák,† immediately below the town, is the only one at present which fulfils its original purpose. The great dyke across the Kuran was named Bandi-Mízán, "the dyke of the balance," from its being carefully formed to the same level as the Bandi-Kaïsar, and above the mouth of the tunnel. The bridge, which is called Púli-Kaïsar ("Cæsar's Bridge," all these works being ascribed to Shápúr's prisoner Valerian), was built upon this dyke, the buttresses of the bridge forming a part of the band. The intervening space in the bed of the river between the two tunnels, which I have called the great reservoir, is the famous Shádarwán§ of Shápúr, being so named from the stone pavement at the bottom of the river, which is said to be still in good preservation. This particular part of the river is also named, in some works, Nahri-Máh-páriyán.|| It now remains that I should describe the tunnel. This is properly called the Nahri-Dáriyán, but is more generally known by the name of A'bi-Miyándáb (a contraction for Miyán-dú-áb, the river

* Murásidu-l-Ittilá'.

† Tímúr is stated to have left Shuster on April 17th, and, advancing rapidly, to have crossed the Dú Dángah on the 19th.—Petis de la Croix, ii. p. 183.

‡ The earth-dyke.

§ Shádarwán signifies a carpet or flooring.

|| The name is now corrupted into Máfáuyán.

between the two waters). It is a deep and narrow channel, cut directly through the hill upon which stands the castle of Shuster. The entire length of the excavation may be three hundred yards; the breadth is fifteen feet: in many places it is cut down, in a direct cleft through the hill, in others it is perforated like a tunnel; the mouth is in the face of the precipice, below the castle, and is said to be ten or twelve feet deep. I do not consider it a work of any great labour, even for Orientals, for the rock is of a very soft and yielding quality. The Nahri-Dáriyán, where it issues from its excavated bed, flows in a channel, which seems to have been built with the greatest care, and of massive blocks of stone, immediately under the ruined walls of the western face of the town, and elevated, consequently, above the pebbly bed of the Kuran; petty aqueducts convey the water from hence to all parts of the town, and, when full, the canal is said to irrigate the whole district of Miyándáb, to the extent of 10 or 12 miles S. of Shuster.

Colonel Chesney has stated,* that the stream which unites with the eastern branch of the Kuran, at Bandi-Kír, is not the river of Dizfúl, but the western branch of the river of Shuster. It is, in reality, however, the united waters of the Dizfúl river, and the western, or main branch of the Kuran, which he observed to join the canal at that spot; the point of confluence of these two streams occurring a few miles to the N. of Bandi-Kír.†

There is no single ruin at Shuster, which can be referred with any certainty, to an era anterior to the Sásánian dynasty; but the excavated chambers in the rocks appear ancient, and if I might be allowed to hazard an identification, I would suggest it to represent the Sele of Ptolemy,‡ and Ammianus. §Sela',|| or Sele', signifies a rock, and the name seems to have been particularly applied to places like Petra,** and Shuster, where the early inhabitants lived in these excavated chambers. The castle also of Shuster, which is built upon a rock thus excavated, retains to the present day the same title of Silásil, which it possessed at the time of the Arab conquest. Ptolemy's geographical position of Sele, too, may be explained; and if Ammianus had any authority whatever for including this name in his list of the Susian cities, farther than the example of his model, Ptolemy, as all his other positions are to be identified, there will positively remain no representative for his Sele among the then existing cities of the

* Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc., vol. iii. p. 265.

† I have never myself seen the point of confluence, but I derive my information from the most authentic sources, particularly from a tribe of Arabs, who dwell upon the very spot: there is no question at all upon this point among the inhabitants of Khúzistán.

‡ Ptol., book vi. chap. 3.

§ Amm. Marc., book xxiii. chap. 6.

|| Sela' is a Hebrew and Chaldee word, and could hardly have given rise to the Arabic plural *salásil*, i.e. chains. F.S.

** See Keith's Evidence of Prophecy, p. 187.

province, but either Ahwáz or Shuster: but I place no great dependence on these few points of coincidence, and merely offer the identification as conjectural.

M. Court has spoken of a bas-relief, and monogram, upon the gate of the castle of Shuster.* I cannot positively deny their existence, but can state that I have traversed all parts of the castle, expressly in search of ancient relics, and that no such sculptures ever fell under my observation; indeed, I consider that far too much importance has been attached to this building. I regard the edifice as quite modern, and do not believe that a fragment of the ancient castle of Shápúr now exists.

There is a deep and broad ditch running along the southern face of the city of Shuster, from one river to the other; and this, when the Nahri-Dáriyán has its proper supply of water, may be filled without any difficulty; Shuster will then form a complete island, and be a place of much strength. Beyond the ditch, at the distance of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile, there are some ruins which I regard as far more ancient than the city of Shuster itself; they merely now present to view a quadrangular enclosure of high mounds, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile square; but from their great solidity, I judge them to mark the site of a town of the Babylonian ages—the line of the canal runs along their western face. They are believed by the Shústerís, but of course, erroneously, to denote the position of 'Askari-Mukram, and are named Lashkar, the Persian translation of 'Askar.† The southern gate of Shuster, through which did really lie the road to 'Askari-Mukram, is called Darwázahi-Lashkar;‡ and hence appears to have arisen the title of the ruins adjoining it. The city of Shuster was nearly depopulated by the plague in 1832, and it has never since recovered its importance: it may now contain about 15,000 inhabitants; but Dizfúl is considered the principal town of the province.

On the 23rd of March we moved from Shúster to march against the Bakhtiyári fortress of Mungasht. The canal upon the eastern face of the town, now called A'bi-Gargar, is crossed by a bridge of a single arch, which, together with the massive band upon which it is built, are recent erections: the bridge is at the distance of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the mouth of the canal; and the band has been merely formed to force the water into a number of little channels, excavated in the rock to the E. and W., for the purpose of turning mills: these streams all unite again at the foot of the band, and the collected waters appeared

* Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, No. 35. p. 560.

† Lashkar in Persian and 'Askar in Arabic signify an army; 'Askari-Mukram is said to have been so named from its originally forming the camp of a chief called Mukram. 'Askar Mukram, "the honoured host," was probably equivalent to the royal residence, the U'rdú, or court of the Moghals. F.S.

‡ The Gate of Lashkar; i.e. 'Askar Mukram.

to me about a fifth of the whole body of the river: the district to the E. of the bridge is named Bolāīṭī. It appears to have formed a suburb of the ancient city, and indeed, has only become wholly deserted within these last few years. I do not believe, however, that Shuster ever extended to the westward of the Kuran, as has been sometimes stated. At the distance of 2 miles from the bridge we passed a hillock, crowned with the ruins of an ancient edifice, which is named Takhti-Kāisar (Cæsar's throne): the summit of the hill has been artificially levelled, and a palace of the Sásánians appears to have been built upon it: our road, in a general direction of S. 33. E. lay along the broad belt of low hills of sand-stone and gypsum, which extends along all this part of Zagros, between the mountains and the plain. The great range does not immediately overhang Shuster, as is generally believed; it lay at the distance of about 5 farsakhs on our left hand. There is now very little fresh water to be procured upon this line, but anciently it appears to have been better supplied; for the ruins of massive bands were visible in the beds of all the torrents and ravines which had been constructed to form reservoirs wherever a fit spot occurred. We encamped in the little plain of Píchistán, distant 11 miles from Shuster.

March 24th.—We made another easy march of 10 miles to a salt stream named Shúrish, the direction and character of the country being the same as yesterday. The stream of Shúrish rises in the gypsum hills, about 30 miles E. of this point; it flows through the extensive plain of Baitáwand, to the left of the line of road upon this day's march, and falls into the Kuran, below 'Akílí, a large village, with a famous orange garden 4 farsakhs N. of Shuster. The plain of Baitáwand, so called from one of the tribes of Luri-Buzurg, to whom it formerly belonged, contains some fresh water rivulets, and is one of the few cultivated districts in this part of the country. On one of these little streams there is a magnificent ruin, which I saw from a distance, but which, to my extreme regret, as we were now in an enemy's country, and I was obliged to be very cautious, I was unable to visit. It is named by the Lurs; Masjidi-Suleimán, or sometimes Masjidi-Suleimáni-Kuchuk,* to distinguish it from another ruin, named Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg,† which I shall hereafter speak of, and represents, without doubt, one of the ancient temples of Elymais.

March 25th.—We continued our march 12 miles to Shakar-A'b,‡ a rivulet of fresh water, crossing the salt water stream again near our halting-place. The road lay along a valley,

* The lesser mosque of Solomon.

† The greater mosque of Solomon.

‡ The sugar stream.

between the sand-hills, covered with a profusion of wild flowers, such as I have never seen equalled in any part of the E. ; indeed, the whole tract of country E. of Shuster, is thus carpeted, and presents the most beautiful appearance that it is possible to conceive.

March 28th.—After halting two days at Shakar-A'b, I accompanied the Prince a distance of 3 farsakhs, to Khári-Shutur-zár,* where he received the submission of the Bakhtiyári chief, against whom our expedition was directed, and from whence we proceeded to the famous hill-fortress of Mungasht. The naphtha pits, which are passed on the road from Shuster to Rám-Hormuz, were 10 miles S. of our halting-place. The road, which had preserved a general direction from Shuster of S. 33. E., here made a little deviation to the S., to round a range of very steep and rugged hills called Kúhi-A'smári, forming the outer barrier of the great chain which we had been gradually approaching.

March 29th.—We marched 6 farsakhs along the skirts of Kúhi-A'smári to a ruined village named Taúlah, situated at the extreme south-eastern point of the range. This was considered the boundary of the district of Jánnikí,† and the hill-fort of Mungasht was here visible, for the first time, bearing S. 30. E.

March 30th.—We left Taúlah at daylight, and entered the district of Jánnikí; at the distance of 12 miles, over a broken country, we came upon the A'bi-Zard, a stream which rises from the hills of Mungasht, and joining the Kurdistán river, in the plain of Rám-Hormuz, forms the Jerráhi.‡ The road, which had hitherto been sufficiently open the whole way from Shuster, for the space of about half a mile along the banks of the A'bi-Zard, which here pierces a rocky range of hills, became extremely difficult; and I do not believe that we should have been able to have transported our artillery across the pass. On emerging from the defile we entered the plain of Bághi-Malik (the king's garden), a spacious and well-cultivated district, watered by the A'bi-Zard, and devoted almost exclusively to the production of tobacco. We had hitherto followed the ancient high road which conducted from Susiana to Eastern Elymais, and thence across the great range, into Central Persia. This road, which at the present day affords the only direct line of communication between Shuster and Isfahán, followed up the plain of Bághi-

* The *Khári Shutur*, or camel's thorn, is a prickly herb upon which the camels feed in Persia; *zár* is a mere affix of locality, as in *Murgh-zár*, a place frequented by birds; *Nái-zár*, a place of reeds, &c.

† Jánnikí is a corruption for Juwánikí, the name of the tribe that originally inhabited this district.

‡ Jerráhi is a name which I have never seen written: the geographers seem most unaccountably to have neglected all mention of this river.

Malik, to the left, whilst we now pursued a track over a very hilly and uneven country, direct to Mungasht, distant from the river 20 miles. The great range, which is known by the general title of Mungasht, a very lofty and precipitous chain, forming the continuation of the line of Zagros, here bounds the district of Jánnikí-Garmasír. The face of these mountains is without a particle of soil or vegetation, and the highest peak is within the range of perpetual snow; the hill-fort, forming the fastness of the great Bakhtiyári chief, who has now nearly all the tribes of Luri-Buzurg under his rule, is an isolated mass of rock, standing out detached upon the southern face of the range. The ascent to the fort is exceedingly steep, and the summit of the rock is scarped all round to a depth of about 150 feet, the only means of access being along a narrow and rocky shoulder, to a point where the scarp lowers to about 50 feet, and where it is to be climbed with some difficulty. The open ground upon the summit of the rock may measure $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in circumference, and it contains two perennial springs; so that, if supplied with provisions, I should consider the fort impregnable. It may be shelled, of course, from many positions upon the slope of the hill, but this would have no great effect; for there are natural caverns upon the summit, capable of holding perhaps 1000 men—Mungasht, or as it should properly be written, Mánkhisht,* has been of great celebrity in the Persian wars. It formed the stronghold of the A'tábegs, who reigned in the Luri-Buzurg during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries; and one of these princes, named Takallah, successfully defended it against the armies of Hulákú, during a siege of nine months' duration.† It has been often, indeed, attacked, but I see no reason to doubt the reputation which it possesses among the Lurs, of being a maiden fortress.

April 1st.—After remaining a day at Mungasht we commenced our return to Shuster, by the direct road across the mountains. We travelled 6 farsakhs the first day, to Tul,‡ the lower fort, and usual residence of the Bakhtiyári chiefs; the road lying along the skirts of the great range, throughout the stage. At 4 farsakhs we passed the large village of Abú-l-'Abbás (or Bálibás, as it is called by the Lurs), on the A'bi-Zard, where it descends from the mountains, by a tremendous gorge, into the plain of Bághi-Malik. In this plain, midway between Abú-l-

* In the Nuz-haṭul-Kulúb and Sharaf-Námah, it is thus written; but at present it is known by no other name than Mungasht.

† The A'tábeg relying on the signet ring of Hulákú, which was sent him in token of pardon, came down from his stronghold; he was immediately seized, sent to Tabriz, and executed. See Sharaf-Námah.

‡ The district of Jánnikí was named in the last century Tulghar, apparently from the title of this fort.

'Abbás, and the point where I had previously crossed the river, are the ruins of a great city. Unfortunately I did not hear of these ruins until it was too late to visit them, but I acquired much information concerning them from the Bakhtiyári inhabitants of the district. The place is called Manjaník; and the ruins, which cover an extent of country about 4 miles in circumference, consist of two distinct classes, the huge Babylonian mound, and traces of buildings formed of hewn blocks of stone. There are many distinct remains of the second class, but the great ruin of the place is an immense mound, described to me as little inferior to the castle of Sús, and believed by all the Lurs to represent the identical spot where Nimrod cast the Patriarch Abraham into the fire, with the famous Manjaník, or Mangonel, which the Orientals suppose to have been first used upon this occasion.* Now, it is well known that the Fire-worshippers refer the institutions of their religion, and the veneration which they attach to fire, to this very fable of Nimrod and the Patriarch; and I have no hesitation, therefore, in believing this mound,† which still preserves in its name and story the most holy tradition of the Magi, to represent the site of a magnificent fire-temple: and I shall presently relate many other curious circumstances which illustrate its ancient history.

The A'bi-Zard, which flows through the plain of Bághi-Malik, is a delightful river, of the coldest and clearest water possible, chiefly derived from the snows of the hills of Mungasht; it varies in volume, of course, according to the season of the year. When I crossed, it was a rapid torrent between 2 and 3 feet deep, and about 40 yards in breadth: in the month of May it is said to be often impassable; but towards the autumn it becomes much diminished. It unites with another stream some miles below Bághi-Malik, and, as I have stated, joins the Kurdistan, in the plain of Rám Hormuz, where I conclude it to represent the Korú Khán Kend of Timúr's march, and of Kinneir's map; though from whence such a name was originally borrowed I cannot conceive. The name occurs nowhere, I believe, except in Sharafu-d-dín, and it certainly is not now known in the country. The title of A'bi-Zard, literally the yellow river, is applied to it on account of its exquisite clearness, *Zard* being often used in this sense, when referring to water; and it appears to have been named by the Arabs Nahru-l-Azrak‡ (the blue river), for the same reason.

* The flame of the furnace is said to have been so intense that no one could approach it; this machine, therefore, was invented to cast in the Patriarch from a distance. [Manjaník, anciently pronounced Manganík, was borrowed by the Arabs from the Greek *manganicon*, a military engine. *Mangonel* is probably from the Christian historians of the Crusades. F.S.]

† This fable, which is of great antiquity, is supposed to have arisen with the Jewish Rabbins, who translated "*Ur* of the Chaldees" "the Chaldean fire," the Hebrew **אור** signifying also "*fire*."—See Hyde, p. 74.

‡ See Lee's translation of Ibn Bâtútah, p. 37.

The mud fort of Tul, built upon a high mound, and defended by four pieces of artillery, may be considered formidable enough among the Bakhtiyáris, but it could make no resistance against regular approaches; it is situated in an open plain, at the distance of one farsakh from the river.

April 2nd.—I made a forced march to-day of 40 miles to rejoin the camp at Shakar-A'b. The passage of the hills, which upon the lower road we had traversed along the banks of the A'bi-Zard, was exceedingly difficult; indeed the descent was so precipitous, that we were obliged to dismount, and drag our horses after us for the space of some miles, along the slippery face of the mountain. After having passed this range we pursued the course of a rocky valley, along the northern face of Kúhi-A'smá'í, at the north-eastern point of which we emerged from the mountains into the beautiful plain of Gulgír, crimsoned with the wild anemone, and clothed throughout with the richest herbage. We then crossed a range of sand-hills, and descended into the valley which we had followed from Shuster. This tract effects a saving in distance of about 8 miles; but I doubt its being more expeditious than the open road to the S.; it is rarely travelled except by the Bakhtiyári-I'liyát.

At Tul I gained intelligence of other ruins in this district which excited in me the liveliest interest: it appears that the high road from Shuster to Isfahán, passing up the plain of Bághi-Malik to Tul, follows from thence a difficult defile, through the Mungasht hills, into the spacious plain of Mál-Amír. Here are the ruins of a city, which I believe to represent the Eïdij of the Oriental geographers. The measurements of 3 marches across the mountains from Shuster,* of 4 stages from 'Askari-Mukram,† and of 45 farsakhs from Isfahán,‡ will alone coincide with this position; the bed of the mountain torrent, which was spanned by the magnificent bridge of Jirzád, a work of the age of Ardeshtír Bábegán, described by the Orientals § as one of the wonders of the world, skirts the edge of the ruins, and imperfect remains of the buttresses of the bridge are said even to be still visible: and we have a further proof of the identity, in the tradition, which reports the place to have been the residence of the powerful A'tábegs of the house of Fuzlúyah,|| and in the name of Mál Amír (the chief's house), which the ruins have assumed in consequence.

* Lee's Ibn Bâtúṭah, p. 37.

† Jai'hání's Ashkálu-l-'A'lam.

‡ Nuz-haṭu-l-Kulúb.

§ In the Atháru-l-Buldán and Murásidu-l-Ittilá', there are very curious accounts of this bridge.

|| The *Sharaf Námah* gives a short sketch of this dynasty. *D'Herbelot* has supposed them to have reigned in *Laristan*, instead of *Luristán*.—See Bib. Orient. tom. i., p. 280.

The place would be well worthy of examination, for the bridge of Jirzád must have been, according to all accounts, one of the most splendid buildings that the Sásánians have left in Persia; and a great road also was carried from this point, across the mountains to Isfahán, which still forms the only practicable line of communication for loaded mules between Shuster and that city. The road is now called the Jádahi-A'tábeg, and is supposed to have been formed by those princes; but I believe that they only repaired an ancient work. I recognise, in this line, the route which is described by Strabo, as conducting from Gabiana (the ancient name of the district of Isfahán) through Elymais to Susiana;* I believe that it was by the same road that Antiochus and Mithridates were enabled to penetrate to the fire-temples of Elymais; and indeed, from the stupendous character of the undertaking, and the immense labour that seems to have been bestowed on it, I am inclined to regard it as a work of the most remote antiquity. But the most interesting spot in all this country, perhaps even in all Persia, is the town of Súsán, upon the banks of the Kuran, 4 farsakhs to the N.W. of Mál Amír: here also are the ruins of a great city, and from the accounts which I have received of it, it cannot be other than a sister capital of Ecbatana and Persepolis. The city of Súsán was principally built upon the right bank of the Kuran, at a point where the course of the river was due W. Forming a semi-circle from the river, and thus enclosing the city, is a range of steep and abrupt hills, through which there is no passage, either along the banks of the river or at other points: a once noble bridge, now almost destroyed, connects this impregnable position with a large mass of ruins upon the left bank of the river, which are again bounded to the S. by another range of hills, extending at both points to the precipitous banks of the Kuran, and traversed by two solitary passes. On the right bank of the river, near the bridge, are said to be the remains of a magnificent palace; the ground all around is now planted with orchards, but the general design of the building is to be traced, and many pillars still remain entire. At a short distance from hence, to the N.E., and at the foot of the hills, is the tomb of Daniel; called Dániyáli Akbar, the greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the other tomb at Sús, which is called Dániyáli Aşghar, or the lesser Daniel. The building is said to be composed of massive blocks of white marble; and a large reservoir, formed of the same materials, is in front of the tomb. This is fed by a small stream, which here descends from the hills, and it contains a vast quantity of sacred fish, that are regarded with the most superstitious attachment. Adjoining the tomb is a large slab of marble, engraved with a perfect cuneiform inscription, and many

* Strabo, p. 527. (p. 744 Ed. Casaub.)

other broken slabs, similarly sculptured, are said to be found among the ruins. On the left bank of the river, the principal ruin is a large fort, at the foot of the southern range of hills. These hills are named Gilgird; and the fort is called Kal'ali-Gilgird—from the description I judge it to be a Sásánian edifice. The high road, conducting from Mál Amír to Súsan, traverses the chain of Gilgird by a narrow pass at the S.E. corner of the city; and at the entrance to this pass, from the plain of Mál Amír, is one of the great curiosities of the place: a large portion of the face of the rock has been artificially smoothened, and an immense tablet, with very long cuneiform inscriptions, has been engraved upon it. There are said to be about twenty figures sculptured upon the tablet, and the inscriptions have been uniformly described to me as fully equalling in length those of Bísutún. There is also a natural cave near this place, which is called Shikafí-Salmán,* and is visited as a place of pilgrimage by the Lurs. I am indebted, I must observe, for this description to oral information only, but I cannot be far wrong, for I was so particularly interested in the first accounts which I heard of Súsan, that during my future intercourse with the Bakhtiyáris, I took the greatest possible pains to collect accurate intelligence, and after a series of minute inquiries from different inhabitants of the place, at different times, I found all their evidence to agree in the points that I have above detailed. Regarding the cuneiform inscriptions there cannot be a question. I have repeatedly produced copies of inscriptions in several different characters, and in showing them to the Bakhtiyáris they have invariably selected the arrow-headed as the style of writing on the slabs and sculptured rocks of Súsan.

I heard also of the ruins of a great building, upon the banks of the Kuran, a short distance below Súsan, which was named Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg: by the Bakhtiyáris it was usually likened to the superb remains at Kangáwer, and it doubtless, therefore, marks the site of another of the wealthy temples of Elymais.

I have thus noticed, I believe, all the interesting matters of geography which fell under my own observation, or with which I became incidentally acquainted during my travels in Susiana and Elymais. I will now state the impressions that I have derived from them in regard to the ancient history and comparative geography of these provinces; and I do so, I confess, with much diffidence, for the subject is one of extreme difficulty, and I am obliged to disagree on some material points, from the generally received opinions. I must also observe, that I merely propose to state the general result of my researches—the line of reasoning by which I

* Salmán was 'Alí's tutor, and the two are associated in a joint incarnation in the creed of the 'Alí-Iláhís.

arrive at my conclusions being given in detail, in a work on the comparative geography of Persia, on which I have been engaged for some time in preparing for publication.

I believe, then, that in ancient times, there were two cities of the name of Súsán, or Susa, in the province of Susiana—the more ancient, which is the Shushan of Scripture, being situated at Súsán on the Kuran, or Eulæus; the other, the Susa of the Greeks, at Sús, near the Kerkhah, or Choaspes. The river of Dizfúl I consider to be the Coprates; the A'bi-Zard, and its continuation the Jerráhi, the Hedyphon, or Hedyphus; and the united arms of the Kuran and Dizfúl river, the real Pasitigris.

And firstly, with regard to Súsán—the very expression of Scripture, “Shusan, the palace,”* would appear indicative of a distinction from some other city of the same name. Daniel, be it remembered, was in the palace, yet he saw the vision on the borders of the U'laï, and heard the voice between the banks of the river. From the mound of Sús, the Kerkhah is 1½ mile distant, but at Súsán the river does actually lave the base of the great ruin. The ancient tomb of the greater Daniel may be also taken into account; and the cuneiform inscriptions are certain evidences of antiquity. As this city did not lie upon Alexander's march, his historians have failed to notice it; but in the later geographers, who had indistinct information of the place, and founded it with the great city of the same name which formed the capital of the province, we discover some traces of its true position. Thus, when Pliny says,† that the Eulæus surrounded the castle of Susa at the distance of 250 miles from the sea; and when Ptolemy places Susa in the north-western corner of the province of Susiana, upon the left branch of the Eulæus, and upwards of a degree above the point of confluence of the right arm of the river,‡ they both can only refer to Súsán and the Kuran. This tract of country, extending S. of the Kuran, and containing the districts of Súsán, Mál Amír, and Jánnikí, appears to have formed a part of the great province of Elymais, and after the period of the Macedonian conquest to have risen to much wealth and prosperity—here, then, I look for the rich temples which attracted the cupidity of the Syrian and Parthian monarchs.

The fire-temple dedicated to Anáhíd, which was supposed by Strabo§ and Diodorus|| to be sacred to Jupiter, and which, in the Maccabees,¶ is named, more properly, the temple of Nanea, may be represented by the ruin in the plain of Baitáwand: it was here that Antiochus the Great lost his life. The city of Elymais,

* Daniel, chap. viii. v. 2.

† Book vi. c. 27.

‡ Ptol. book vi. c. 3.

§ Strabo, p. 744. || Diod. Sic. Fragm. 34, book xxvi.

¶ II Mac. c. i. v. 13-16.

which was attacked by his son, Antiochus Epiphanes,* I believe to be Súsan; and the temple which he sought to pillage, to be the superb ruin of Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg: this, too, will be the “*templum Dianæ augustissimum illis gentibus*,” of Pliny,† which was situated upon the Eulæus, below Susa. Antiochus Epiphanes, after his defeat, retreated to Tabæ,‡ the name of which is preserved in the modern Tab, and there expired in agony, either of his wounds or of a bodily malady. The third great expedition against these fire-temples was that undertaken by the Parthian king, Mithridates. He is said to have robbed the temple of Diana, named Azara, of ten thousand talents, and to have taken Seleucia, on the Hedyphon.§ Seleucia is also mentioned by Pliny, in this quarter of Elymais; and he names the river Hedypnus: now Hedyphon and Hedypnus are manifestly of Greek derivation,|| merely implying the agreeable qualities of the river; and as we also know that the stream disembogued into the Eulæus, I am induced to identify the names with the A'bi-Zard of the present day. In this view Seleucia will be represented by the ruins of Manjanik, and the great mound which preserves the tradition of Nimrod and Abraham will mark the site of the fire-temple that fell into the hands of the Parthian king. The temple is named Azara, in Strabo, which is evidently a derivation from Azar, signifying fire—probably it is a mere contraction of A'zar-gâh, a fire-temple. This temple, also renowned doubtless for its sanctity, throughout Persia, will thus represent the holy place of refuge, the “*Asylum Persarum*,” with which Pliny illustrates the course of the Hedypnus: it appears even to have retained its celebrity after the Arab conquest, for I can discover no place which will agree as well as this with the great fire-temple of Márin, upon the confines of Fârs and Khûzistân, that is described in the eleventh century¶ as one of the most famous of the Magian places of worship. Pliny unites with this Elymæan Seleucia, a name which I cannot but consider as the real appellation of the city that he had formerly confounded with the great capital of the province, in his description of Sûsa: I allude to Sosirate; and as I find in the Persian geographers, that the Súsan of Luri-Buzurg was also named 'Arwah, or 'Arwat,** I regard the title employed by Pliny as a compound of the two terms. This name of 'Arwat, applied to the ancient city of Súsan, appeared to me, at first, a certain indication that the ancient Oroatis was to be recognised as another name for the river Kuran; but I found on examination, that the measurements and relative descriptions of all ancient geographers

* 1 Maccab. c. vi. v. 1—4. Josephus, Ant., book xii. c. 9. s. 1.

† Pliny, book vi. c. 27. ‡ Polyb. Excerpt., lib. xxxi. Edit. Vales, p. 144.

§ Strabo, p. 744.

|| Ἠδυφῶνος, sweet sounding—Ἠδυπῶνος, sweetly breathing.

¶ By Ja'ihâni. ** Nuz-haṭu-l-Kulûb, and Zeinaṭu-l-Majâlis.

clearly pointed out the Táb, as the representative of that river ; and I have not ventured, therefore, on the sole authority of an etymological coincidence, to impugn their distinct and united evidence. Súsán, under the Sásánian monarchs, seems to have continued a place of some consequence, and from its impregnable character, to have offered a fit spot for the creation of their great state-prison, the famous castle of Lethe, where they confined their prisoners of distinction. It was here that Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf confined the unfortunate Arsaces II., King of Armenia ; and it was from hence that the Roman prisoners, taken at Dará, under the reign of the younger Justin, after a long captivity, effected their remarkable escape.* It is named by Ammianus, Agaban,† probably the Pehleví word, which the Greeks translated by Lethe ; Moses of Chorene places it in Khúzistán,‡ and from the account of Theophylact§ we are able to identify its exact position at Súsán ; he names it the castle of Giligerd. I have mentioned that the Sásánian fortress of Súsán still retains the title of Kal'ahi-Gilgerd ; it was not far, he says, from Bendosabiron : by this title he alludes either to the Bandi-Shápúr, at Shuster, or to the city of Jundí-shápúr, and either indication will agree with the position of Súsán ; and he adds that it was in the district Bizaca, a name that may perhaps be recognised in the title of Bázuft, which still pertains to a tract of country in the vicinity of Súsán. The ruins at Sús, near the Kerkhah, certainly represent the Susa of Herodotus and of the campaigns of Alexander and his successors ; but I rather suspect that the fables of Memnon,|| and his parents Tithon and Cissia, which were applied to this city by the early Greeks, and were copied by later writers, should more properly belong to Shushan the palace, upon the river U'laí ; and that there may thus be some truth in the statement of Pliny that the younger Susa was founded by Darius Hystaspes. This city of Susa, on the Choaspes, continued from the age of Alexander to the Arab conquest of Persia to be a great and flourishing capital, and it naturally therefore attracted to itself the traditions which really applied to the more ancient city on the Eulæus. Thus, when the Nestorian church was established in Susiana, in the third century, the traditions regarding the prophet Daniel became naturalised in a foreign soil : there is abundant evidence that the Syrian church believed this city of Susa, where they instituted a bishopric very shortly after their arrival in the province,¶ to have been the scene of the divine revelations, and that they soon began to attach a su-

* Cedrenus, Ed. Xyl. p. 325. Agathias, book iv. c. 28. Procopius, Bell. Pers. i. 5.

† Amm. Mar. book xxvii. c. 12. ‡ Book iii. c. 35. § Theophyl. Sim. lib. iii. c. 5.

|| The route across the mountains, which is named Jádahi-A'tábeg, will thus represent the road of Memnon noticed by Diodorus.

¶ See Asseman, tom. i. p. 3. 12 ; tom. iv. p. 781.

perstitious reverence to certain spurious relics of the prophet's body. In these Nestorians I recognise "the followers of the book,"* who, at the period of the Arab conquest, were accustomed, in time of drought, to carry the coffin into their churches, and in offering up their prayers for rain, to make use of it as an intercessor: the whole story of the tomb of Daniel, indeed, and perhaps too the stone sculptured with the figures of the two lions and a man, I consider to have originated with the Nestorian church; and I regard it as not a little favourable to my belief in the distinction of the two Susas, that upon the banks of the Eulæus, an ancient tomb should have existed during so many centuries, unnoticed and perhaps unknown, which should still at the present day claim to be superior to the shrine whose fame has been spread by the voice of superstition over the Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan worlds. The history of the sacred fish also, which in Benjamin of Tudela, and also in a Persian MS.† is attached to this tomb upon the river of Shápúr, appears to have been transplanted from the other shrine. In the Shápúr stream, not only are there no sacred fish, but, as far as I can learn, there are no fish at all; whilst I have noticed the ancient marble reservoir of Súsan filled with fishes, which are daily fed by the inhabitants of the place.

The bridge of the Choaspes, mentioned by Strabo, and by which Alexander travelled to Susa, is to be recognised in the ruins of Páí Púl, that I have already noticed. The Sásanian city of Kerkh,‡ or I'wáni-Kerkh, upon the right bank of the Choaspes, appears to represent the Kerkhi-Ládan of the Syriac writers, which was conjoined with the bishopric of Susa.§ We may gather that the two cities were in the immediate vicinity of each other, as well from this circumstance as from the fact that St. Simeon, the Primate of Seleucia, executed by Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf, at Kerkhi-Ládan, was interred at Susa: and the title Kerkh, which Assemani always renders by the word city, I believe to have been the proper name of the place.|| The Arabic geographers, Jaïhání, Idrísí, and Yáqút, all mention the name of Kerkh, or Kerkhah, among the cities of Khúzistán, distinct from Kerkhi-Mísán, or Mohammerah, the Charax Spasinæ of the ancients; but, as they do not give any measurements, it is impossible to be quite certain with regard to this identification. Kerkhah and Susa appear to have fallen into ruin during the thirteenth century. I conjecture that the Choaspes derived the name of Kerkhah, which it still retains, from the title of this town; but even this point

* The story is told by Jaïhání. † Nuz-hafu-l Kulúb.

‡ The villages of Carhæ (Diod. b. xvii. c. 11), which Alexander reached on the first march from Susa, after crossing the Kerkhah, would seem to be represented by this town of Kerkh.

§ See Assemani, tom. ii. p. 460; tom. iv. p. 760.

|| Perhaps, also, this Kerkhah may be the Aracha of Ammianus.

must remain uncertain, for neither in Abú-l-fedá, nor in any other of the old Arabic authors, do I find any notice of the river Kerkhah, and I have never met with the name even, but in a single Persian MS. of the fourteenth century, where a most inaccurate account is given of its course.* I know not the derivation of the name Choaspes; but there is certainly no such mountain among the ranges of Zagros as Kúh A'sp, horse hill, which D'Anville states to have given rise to the title.

The reasons for the opinion, now almost universally entertained, of the identity of the Choaspes and Eulæus, in defiance of the direct statements of Strabo † and Pliny, ‡ and the scarcely less direct inference of the voyages of Nearchus and Alexander, appears to have been the application of both the names to the river that flowed by Susa, and the contradictory statements regarding the excellent water of one of these rivers, which was exclusively drunk by the monarchs of Persia. I have removed the one difficulty to the distinction of the rivers, by the distinction of two cities of the names of Susa and Súsan; the explanation of the other is still more easy. The fact is, that the waters of both these rivers, Kerkhah and Kuran, are almost equally renowned for their excellence. It is true that the Kuran, traversing the great cities of Shuster, 'Askari-Mukram, and Ahwáz, whilst the banks of the Kerkhah were deserted, has become more widely celebrated throughout the Mohammedan world; but in the province, at the present day, the Kerkhah is considered but little if at all inferior, and the waters of these two rivers, be it observed, are regarded now, as in ancient times, as far surpassing all the other streams or springs in the world. The Orientals, it is well known, are most particular about the quality of their water, whilst, at the same time, their habits are remarkable for permanence of character; and thus it would have been most extraordinary that, as we have no reason to believe the rivers to have changed the qualities of their waters, nor the Persians to have changed their taste, the Kerkhah should have formerly enjoyed an exclusive celebrity, when the neighbouring stream of the Kuran afforded water of an equal or perhaps superior quality.

Most ancient authors, confounding the two cities of Susa, confounded also the rivers, and thus described the excellence of the Choaspes, or Eulæus, as they referred to the one Susa or the other; but Pliny,§ who has distinguished the rivers, distinctly states also that they were both equally approved of by the Parthian monarchs, and Solinus has followed his authority.|| I have now mentioned the chief grounds of arguments upon which I rest my distinction of the Choaspes and Eulæus; and I believe the

* Nuz-hafu-l-Kulúb.

† Strabo, p. 728.

‡ Pliny, book vi.c. 27.

§ Book xxxi. c. 3.

|| Sol. Polyhist. c. xxxiii. xxxviii.

darkness which has hitherto enveloped the subject is beginning gradually to disappear.

I have stated that the real Pasitigris was formed by the junction of the Coprates and Eulæus—just as we read in a Persian work,* “the united rivers of Dizfúl and Shuster are named Dujéili-Ahwáz; yet the eastern branch of the river frequently assumed the name of Pasitigris, or simply Tigris, and more frequently the united arms retained the title of Eulæus in their southward course to the sea, precisely in the same way as the name of Dujéil, or Dijlah, was usually applied, in the middle ages, to the eastern branch of the river as high as Shuster, and the title of Kuran, at the present day, continues to be given to the river after the confluence of the stream of Dizfúl, and as far even as the point of its disembouement in the Persian Gulf. This river, I must also notice, is stated by the Arabs to have been named by the old Persians Dijlahi-Kúdak, or the Little Tigris,† and this was translated into Arabic by the diminutive form of Dijlah, Dujéil. With this indication, then, I have no difficulty in recognising in the Greek $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ the old Persian word Pas, signifying “low, inferior,” and in thus translating Pasitigris, like the Arabic Dujéil, “the inferior or little Dijláh.”

In fact, the identification of the rivers of Susiana, according to my view, appears to me to remove all the difficulties arising from the positive evidence of the historians, except in one solitary instance, and, indeed, to accord sufficiently well with the more confused notices of the geographers. Alexander crossed the Kerkhah, or Choaspes,‡ in his march from Babylon to Susa; he came upon the Pasitigris, or Dujéili-Ahwáz, at 4 marches from Susa,§ in his route to Persepolis, the bridge of boats occurring, I suspect, at the town of Ahwáz. At the period of Alexander's return, Nearchus had sailed up this river to the same point;|| and when the army marched to Susa, he brought the fleet above Ahwáz (which, before the construction of the band, I conceive to have been perfectly practicable) to the mouth of the Shápúr river; and from hence he navigated that stream to Susa.¶ Alexander afterwards embarked on the Shápúr, and, following the course of it to the great river, sailed down the Eulæus (as we should say, at the present day, he sailed down the Kuran) to the sea, sending his shattered vessels through the Hafar cut into the Tigris. Again, Eumenes, retiring from Susa,** came to the Tigris—that is, the Kuran, Dujéil, or Dijlah. We must suppose him to have crossed the river immediately below the confluence of the Dizfúl branch, and then the measurement of one day's journey from Susa, which

* Tazkaratî-Shusterîyah. † Murâsidu-l-A'ttilâ'. ‡ Quint. Curt. book ii. c. ix.
§ Quint. Curt. book iii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. book xvii. 67. || Arrian's Nearchus, 4.
¶ Arrian, book vii. c. 7. ** Diod. Sic. book xix. 17.

is given by Diodorus, will be sufficiently correct. Antigonus, in his pursuit, could scarcely have made more than two marches to the Coprates, or river of Dizfúl; and when it is stated that, on account of the extreme heat, he encamped before sunrise on the banks of the river, I understand this of the A'bi-Shápúr. He probably reached the Coprates very near the point of junction, for the camp of his enemy was only 80 stadia distant. Why he should have preferred attempting the passage of the two arms successively, instead of crossing below the junction, like Eumenes, it is not easy to say; perhaps he considered that, as his enemy's force was beyond the eastern branch, the passage of the first river would be effected without molestation, and he should be able afterwards to seize on the bridge which crossed the second. If this were his view, however, he was out-manceuvred; for Eumenes re-crossed the Kuran when a part only of his adversary's forces had been passed over, and, attacking them before they could be supported, he gave Antigonus a signal defeat. From hence Antigonus is said to have retired to Badaca, on the Eulæus; and in this single passage is the only real difficulty which I experience in the whole illustration. Antigonus, of course, from his position on the Coprates, could not possibly have reached any part of the Kuran, which all other evidence points out as the real Eulæus; and I am fain, therefore, to consider this mention of the Eulæus an error of Diodorus. In describing the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana he had previously mistaken the Choaspes for the Tigris,* and this second error need not, therefore, so much surprise us. Badaca I believe to have been situated about 25 miles N.W. of Susa, between the two arms of the Duwárij, where some very remarkable ruins still exist of the same character as those of Susa, and known in the country by the name of Páták, or Pátakah; and I am the rather inclined to this opinion, as there are no ruins upon the Kerkhah to the N. of Susa which could possibly represent Badaca, and the place must necessarily have been considerably to the northward in this direction, to have enabled Antigonus to reach the inhabited parts of Media at Khorram-ábád, in nine days, even by the short cut across the mountains of Charban.†

We now come to the geographers. The evidence of Strabo principally relates to the lower course of the rivers; and bearing in mind that his Eulæus and Pasitigris refer to the same river, I doubt not but that the publication of the Euphrates papers will serve to explain all difficulties. When he states, however, on the authority of Polyclitus,‡ that the Choaspes, the Eulæus, and the

* Diod. Sic., book xvii. c. 11. † Pliny, book vi. c. 27. , ‡ Strabo, p. 728.

Tigris flow all into one lake, and thence into the sea, he distinguishes most satisfactorily between the two first rivers, and evidently refers to the Kerkhah, the Kuran, and the Dījlāh, which I understand there is reason to believe did really, at one time, all unite their waters in a great hūr, or marshy lake, before they fell into the sea.

Pliny,* confused, as he always is, from the multitude of authors whom he consulted, is still, I believe, to be explained. He states that the Choaspes, or Kerkhah, fell into the Tigris, and that the fleet of Alexander sailed up the Pasitigris, or Kuran, from the sea, and in both of these statements he is perfectly correct; but, in his account of the Eulæus, he has confounded the two rivers together, apparently from his confusion of the two cities of Susa, which they respectively watered, and this, too, may be proved, without much difficulty; for, having identified his Mesobatenē with Māh-sabadān, the Eulæus, which traversed this district above Susiana, can only represent the Kerkhah; and yet, in his further notice of the river, the Kuran will alone answer the description. Thus, he states in two passages, that the Eulæus formed the partition between Susiana and Elymais, which country, extending to the sea-shore, was divided from Persis by the Oroatis, or Tāb; and, again, that the Eulæus received into it the Hedyppus, from Elymais, which river can only be represented by the Jerrāhī and its branches, and another stream from Susiana, not otherwise mentioned by him, which also clearly refers to the A'bi-Dizfūl. When again he states, that the Eulæus surrounded the citadel of Susa, I cannot but recognise the Kuran and Súsān; for, as I have shown, the Kerkhah flows at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the great mound of Sús. His evidence, moreover, regarding the embouchure of the river, appears to me certainly to denote the Kuran; but the officers of the Euphrates expedition, who minutely examined the lower course of the river, will be better able to determine this point.

Respecting the other geographers I have little to add. Ptolemy† mentions only three rivers in Susiana, the Mosæus, the Eulæus, and the Oroatis: and thus, whether his Mosæus, or river of Mísān, designates the Kerkhah, or the Bāmishīr, the Eulæus, intervening between this and the Tāb, can only denote the Kuran. I have before noticed the applicability of the inland course of the Eulæus, given by this geographer, to the confluence of the two rivers of Shuster and Dizfūl, 80 or 90 miles below Súsān, or Susa. Marcian is a mere copyist of Ptolemy; and Ammianus, who also drew from the same source, has no further difference than

* Book vi. c. 27.

† Book vi. c. 3.

the substitution of the name of Harax* for Eulæus, which seems to have been borrowed from the town of Spasinæ Charax, at the mouth of the river, rebuilt by Ardeshír Bábegán, under the title of Kerkhi-Mísán, or Ushtun-ábad.†

I am not acquainted with the arguments that have been lately brought forward, to revive the old opinion of the identity of Susa and Shuster, or I should have more particularly noticed them. Such an idea does not appear to me, however, to be remotely consistent, either with the authorities of Oriental writers, or with the existing geography of the province. I regard the present town of Shuster as a foundation of the Sásánians; and, in proof of its inferiority to Sús, or Susa, I may mention that it did not rise into sufficient consequence to become the see of a Christian Bishopric until two centuries after the establishment of the Nestorians in Susiana,‡ and when the neighbouring city of Sús had already enjoyed that honour for at least 140 years.

I must again excuse the brevity with which I have treated this hitherto much confused inquiry, by stating that a detailed examination of all the evidence and the inferences which I draw from each particular statement are embodied in a work now preparing for publication, upon the comparative geography of Persia.

May 16th.—After a further residence of a month and a half in the province of Khúzistán, during which time I gained much of the intelligence that I have here communicated, I left Dizfúl with a small party, and without baggage, for Khorram-ábád. There are three roads between these points: the high road of ten káfilah stages, which conducts along the line that I have already described to Chuli-Jáidar, and from thence strikes north-eastward to Khorram-ábád; the second of eight stages, which diverges from the A'bi-Zál, and crossing the Káílún range, rejoins the high-road at Dehlíz; and the third, directly across the mountains, in a line nearly due N., which curtails the distance between the two points to four long marches. I preferred this last road, as well on account of its shortness, as from its never having before been travelled by an European. I marched the first day 8 farsakhs, to the plain of Kír A'b (the bitumen water). The road traversed the plain of Dizfúl, in a direction due N., to the western point of the fort of Tangawán, and, rounding this, descended among some very steep ravines to the little plain of Kír A'b, which lay at the extreme roots of the great range between the stream of Balád-rúd and the mountains. I was not a little sur-

* Book xxiii. c. 6.

† Tabarí and Murášidu-l-A'jjílá.

‡ The Christian church was established in Susiana about A.D. 260. St. Milles, bishop of Susa, suffered martyrdom in A.D. 330; and Phuses was first appointed bishop of Shuster in about A.D. 460. See Asseman, tom. iv. p. 421; tom. i. p. 12; and tom. i. p. 353.

prised to detect among these steep ravines the evident traces of a broad paved road, leading into the secluded plain of Kír A'b, which appeared to come from the direction of Sús. I also found a heap of mounds in the plain, the remains of an ancient town; and uniting these indications with the bitumen pits, which abound in the neighbourhood, and from which the place has obtained its name, I could not but fancy that I beheld the site of the Eretrian colony of Ardericca. It is true that the distance in a right line from Susa is too much to accord with the 210 stadia of Herodotus, and he seems to have actually visited the place himself;* but, in all other respects, it will agree sufficiently well both with his account and with that of Damis.† The liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the same way as is related by Herodotus: the ground is impregnated with this noxious matter, and the waters are most unwholesome. The Balád-rúd may be the stream that was brought round the town to defend the Greek colonists from the attacks of the barbarians; and the rising ground behind the ruins is, at the present day, the part of the district chiefly under cultivation. I must also observe, that there are positively no bitumen or naphtha pits in all Susiana but at this place, and near Rám Hormuz;‡ and of these two, Kír A'b has certainly the best claim to be considered the site of Ardericca. Larcher§ indicates the exact bearing from Susa, I know not on what authority, as N., inclining a little to the east, and this will exactly suit the position of Kír A'b. Kír A'b forms the Kishlák, for some 200 or 300 families of the Rákí and Pápi Lurs; but it is disliked as a residence, on account of its unhealthiness.

May 17th.—We crossed on foot a most precipitous range of hills, a prong of the great chain, rising up abruptly behind Kír A'b, and descended into the beautiful glen of Tangi-Zardáwar. Our horses were with difficulty dragged over this range; and a mule, heavily laden, could not have passed it. The Tangi-Zardáwar is a narrow and richly-wooded valley, running up in a direction of N. 20 W. for about 20 miles, into the range between a line of rocks of immense height, and almost perpendicular. After a march of 5 farsakhs, we reached the head of the valley, and here an attack of fever and ague obliged me to halt, the effects of one night's sojourn in the pestilent plain of the Eretrian colony.

We were now approaching the wildest part of the Lurish mountains, inhabited by the tribe of Dirikáwand, who, confiding in their fastnesses, have been long in a state of open rebellion, and who subsist almost entirely by the plunder of travellers. We were,

* Herodotus, book vi. c. 119.

† Philostrate. Apollon. Vit. book i. c. 24.

‡ Also at Bandi-Kír, or Kíl, see p. 51; and again between Shuster and Rám Hormuz, see p. 51.

§ Larcher's Herodotus, vol. vii. p. 36.

therefore, well on the alert ; but a party of these marauders, who surrounded our little camp throughout the night, contrived to carry off a number of stray articles ; and, in the grey of the morning, two of our servants were seized by them and stripped of everything.

May 18th.—At the head of the valley the great hills rise up almost perpendicularly to a tremendous height, and seem to shut out all further progress. A rocky path, however, conducted us to the summit, after a most tedious and difficult ascent of two hours ; and here, from the sultry plains of Susiana, where, at this season, the heat is almost insupportable, we found ourselves suddenly transported into a climate where the snow lay deep in all the sheltered crevices of the mountains ; and the trees, which in the plain were in their full summer foliage, were only just beginning to show their early sprouts. As I knew that I should cross some of the most elevated land in Luristán, I had brought with me a mountain barometer to determine the elevation of some of the highest peaks ; the tube, however, was broken by the fall of the servant, who had charge of it, in the ascent of this mountain, and I thus lost an opportunity which may probably never occur again. This mountain is named *Bí-A'b*,* from its possessing no water, but that supplied by the melting of the snows ; it is a continuation of the outer chain of Zagros, being connected with the range of Mángerrah to the west, where there is a hill fort of some celebrity in Oriental history, and with the great mountain of Sháh-zádeh Ahmed, to the east, so called from the tomb of a *pír* of that name, which is built upon its summit. This Sháh-Zádeh Ahmed is stated to have been one of three brothers ; the other two were Sultán Maḥmúd, interred at Hulilán, near Kirmánsháh, and Sultán Ibráhím, who, under the name of Bábá-buzurg (the great father), is worshipped as the Deity throughout Luristán. Sháh-zádeh Ahmed and Sultán Maḥmúd are included among the Haft-tan by the 'Alí Iláhís, and both of the shrines, therefore, are places of much sanctity. After a gradual descent for some miles from the hill of *Bí-A'b*, we crossed another ridge of the great chain, called *Kúhi-Anárah-rúd*, to a stream of the same name, which forms the left branch of the *A'bi-Zál*. Beyond this stream again we traversed a third range, called *Kal Áspad*,† to the bed of the *A'bi-Zál*, salt even in this early part of its course, and filled with huge fragments of rock, similar to those which I found below. The country all around here, as far as the eye can reach, presents to view a mass of the most tremendous mountains, which appear so intermingled with each other, that it is not easy at first to detect their proper lines. From the bearings, however, which I took

* Pronounced in Lurish, *Bí-A'ú*.

† The white peak.

from the highest peaks, and from the information of our guides, I was able to distinguish that these three ridges of Bî-A'ḡ, Aná-rahrúd, and Kal Aspad, were all parts of a single chain connected with the line of Káílún, Kirkí, and Mángerrah, and forming the outer barrier of Zagros. In a little defile to our left hand, as we crossed the Kal Aspad, we saw a tomb named the Imám Zádahî-Pír Már,* a shrine of great celebrity in Luristán. This saint is said to have possessed the miraculous power of curing the bite of all venomous serpents; and, at the present day, whenever a Lur in the vicinity is bitten by a snake, he repairs to the shrine, and, according to popular belief, always recovers. The descendants of this holy personage, too, claim to have inherited the miraculous power, and I have certainly seen them effect some very wonderful cures. The Lurs believe that the cure is performed merely by the touch of the cold blade of a knife which belonged to the great Pír Már, and is still preserved in his family; but I saw that the real antidote, which, however, is not a little curious, was contained in a poultice of leaves and wild herbs kept constantly applied to the wound.† We halted at an open spot in a wooded valley, 3 miles beyond the A'bi-Zál, having been ten hours in crossing the great chain from the head of the Tangi-Zardáwar.

May 19th.—We were still in a very high country, as we might perceive by the freshness of the air, and by the trees being not yet in full leaf. After crossing another little stream which falls into the A'bi-Zál, we commenced the ascent of the second chain, named Kúhi-Gird.‡ This was not quite so difficult as the ascent of the mountain of Bî-A'ḡ; but still we were obliged to perform it on foot, dragging the horses after us with much labour. From the summit of the mountain we could trace down the valley of the Kerkhah, at many points overlooking the heights of Káílún and Kirkí, and through one opening in the Mángerrah range, we obtained a view of the low country of Susiana, stretching away in a sea of mist farther than the eye could reach. The descent of the Kúhi Gird chain occupied two hours; and in the little plain of Táyín at its foot, the change from a cold to a hot climate again became most marked. Táyín is a narrow plain stretching W.N.W. and E.S.E. between two great chains of mountains, and watered by a stream which falls into the river of Khorram-ábád; it is now uncultivated, but retains the marks of former habitation. We had been only five hours from our last stage, but the return of my intermittent fever obliged me to halt. Our provisions were now expended, for we had calculated on reaching Khorram-ábád upon

* *Pír Már* signifies "Saint Snake."

† The moral effect of confidence would also have some share in the patient's recovery.

‡ Round hill.

the fourth day. I therefore made an exertion in the afternoon, after the height of the fever was over, to push on to the plain of Khorram-ábád, where we might procure supplies; but I was unable to proceed more than a farsakh and a half over a low range which formed the outer line of the third great chain, and our party accordingly went fasting to bed on the banks of the little stream of Káyún.

May 20th.—We now began to cross the third great chain, which, in this part of the line, is called Kúhi-Haftád Pehlú (the seventy-sided hill), to denote its infinite ramifications. It was here formed of two ridges, between which there was some extent of open table-land, which is one of the Yailáks of the tribe of Dirikáwand. From the summit of the northern ridge we saw the rich plain of Khorram-ábád stretching at our feet; and, after a wearisome descent through a thick forest of oak-trees, which occupied us nearly three hours, we at last reached a camp of I'liyát, and were kindly received by a Sayyid, a descendant of Sháh-zádah Ahmed, as he averred, who entertained me with a number of curious stories regarding the faith and superstitions of the Lurs. This was the first inhabited spot that we had seen since we left the plain of Kír A'b, and the party, having fasted now for forty hours, enjoyed with no small relish our I'liyát repast. After breakfast I rode into Khorram-ábád, a distance of 5 miles from the foot of the hills, through a richly-cultivated district thronged with villages and gardens. The general direction of our line from Dizfúl had been three or four points to the eastward of N., instead of N. 22° W. as I had been led to expect from the maps. Indeed, from the comparison of a number of routes, I cannot but conclude that Khorram-ábád has been laid down very erroneously in the maps hitherto published; and I regret much therefore that I omitted, during my short stay, to determine the position astronomically.

Khorram-ábád is a singular place; a range of rocky hills stretching across the plain, in the usual direction of N.W. and S.E. has been suddenly broken off to admit the passage of the river, for the space of about three-quarters of a mile, leaving, in the centre of the open space, a solitary rock nearly 1000 yards in circumference; the rock is very steep, and near its summit is a most copious spring. This is the fort of Khorram-ábád. It is surrounded by a double wall at the base, and the summit, where the palace is built, is also very strongly defended. The palace, which was erected by Moḥammed 'Alí Mirzá, is a very elegant building. A magnificent reservoir, 60 yards by 40, which is fed by the spring, has been formed within it, and there is also a garden of some extent. The fort contains exclusively the palace and

its dependent buildings. The modern town, which is small, containing not more than 1000 houses, is built below the fort upon its south-western face. The river, a broad shallow stream, passes along to the S.E. of the fort and town; the banks are covered with gardens, and among these are to be seen the remains of the old town, the capital of the A'tábegs of Luri-Kuchuk. A lofty brick minaret, of the class peculiar to the Seljúkian ages, is chiefly conspicuous, and there is also a very curious massive stone pillar inscribed all round with an Arabic inscription, in very legible Cufic characters, which I much regret having had no time to copy during my short stay; for, in looking it over, I could distinguish the name of Shujá'u-d-dín, the first of the A'tábegs, and I doubt not but it would throw much light on the origin of this powerful dynasty of the Khúrshídís,* regarding whom so little is known in Europe, or even in the East itself.

The name of Khorram-ábád does not occur, I believe, in writers antecedent to the fourteenth century. Before that period the place was called Samhá, or Diz Siyáh,† the black fort, in allusion to the colour of the rock upon which the castle is built. In the old geographers it seems to be indicated by the name of Shapúrkh-ást, at least I can find no other possible representative for that city; and this title would denote a Sásánian origin. There are no sculptures, however, at Khorram-ábád, or, indeed, any remains that I should ascribe to a higher antiquity than the eleventh or twelfth century.

The common Lurs, it is true, believe that there is a great tablet in the range of Yáftah-kúh, to the N.W. of the city, sculptured with the figure of a man and his dog, or rather that this man 'Alí and his dog were suddenly removed to the face of the rock, and there turned into stone, to be *found* there for ever;‡ but all intelligent individuals whom I have questioned do not pretend anything more than that, in an inaccessible part of the mountain, the natural rock presents something like the appearance of these two figures. I mention this, as I have heard it surmised by many Persian travellers, from the reports current among the Lurs, of the wonders of Khorram-ábád, that it might represent the site of the Baghistane of antiquity. The fort of Khorram-ábád, from its peculiar position, however, must always have been a place of some consequence, and formed, probably, from remote antiquity, the

* This dynasty reigned in Luri-Kuchuk from A.D. 1155 to about A.D. 1600. The Sharaf Námah contains the only detailed account of them that I have ever seen. D'Herbelot has not noticed them.

† Sharaf Námah, Nuz-haṭ-u-l-Ḳulúb.

‡ They thus explain the meaning of the title Yáftah-kúh.

abode of the ruler of these wild regions. I am inclined, therefore, to recognise, in its title of Diz Siyáh, or, which has nearly the same signification, Kúh Siyáh,* the word in which originated the title of Cossæan, applied by the Greeks of Alexander to the inhabitants of these mountains. The particular tract of country, however, between Media and Susiana, bounded to the E. and W. by the river of Dizfúl and the Kerkhah, appears to be the Corbiane of Strabo;† and this title is of course identical with the Mount Charban of Pliny,‡ and the Corbrynæ of Polybius;§ but to the illustration of this name I have no clue in the modern geography of the district.

The road from Khorram-ábád to Kirmánsháh has been travelled by many Englishmen, and I need give, therefore, no very detailed description. The direct road leads by the plains of Alíshtar and Kháwah to Harsín; but this is impracticable in winter from the deep snow, and the route then follows a somewhat circuitous line by the Púli-Taskan, a magnificent Sasanian bridge, now in ruins, which crossed the river Káshghán, and from thence, along a line of sheltered valleys, to Hulílán on the Chospes, where it joins the road from Jáidar. The Púli-Taskan is said to be the noblest ruin in all Luri-Kuchuk. It contains an inscription which I suspect to be Cufic, but which may possibly be Pehleví, and is thus well worthy of examination. The bridge seems to have been built by the Sásánian monarchs to facilitate the line of communication between Hamadán and Susiana.

May 24th.—I left Khorram-ábád in the afternoon, and rode $3\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs to Robát.|| The road traversed an open valley for $2\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs along the course of the right arm of the stream of Khorram-ábád, and then, for another farsakh, passed among low hills to the village of Robát.

May 25th.—I made a long stage to-day of 9 farsakhs, to the opening of the plain of Kháwah. After riding 2 farsakhs among low hills richly wooded with the belút, we came upon the A'bi-Káshghán, a deep and impetuous stream, which, dividing at this point into a number of narrow branches, we passed upon I'liyát bridges of woven boughs. At another farsakh, also among hills, we descended into the plain of Alíshtar, and soon afterwards reached the A'bi-Alísh-tar, a shallow river, which we forded without difficulty. The plain of Alíshtar is a vast level flat of great extent, bounded upon the E. by a noble chain of mountains, named Chihil Ná-Báli-ghán¶ (from a story of forty children who here suffered martyr-

* *Kúh Siyáh* merely signifies "the black hill." *Diz* is applied to a hill forming a fort.

† Strabo, p. 745.

‡ Pliny, book vi, c. xxvii.

§ Polyb. book v. c. xliv.

|| A caravanserai,

¶ The forty infants.

dom), which divides it from the territories of Niháwand and Burújird, and on the W. by another very lofty range, called Sar Kushtí, where the Lurs suppose the ark of Noah to have rested after the Flood. The skirts of Chihil Ná-Bálighán are covered with villages, and around them is much cultivation. The great body of the plain, however, is pasture-ground, and I'liyát encampments were scattered over its whole surface. We rode across this plain, a distance of 5 farsakhs, and, ascending some rising ground, encamped, after another farsakh, among the low hills at the opening of the plain of Kháwah.

May 26th.—I made another long march of 9 farsakhs, to Harsín. For 2 farsakhs we traversed the lower plain of Kháwah, which is a level flat like Alíshtar, and is watered by two streams descending from the mountains of Gírun (a continuation of the chain of Chihil Ná-Bálighán), and uniting at the western extremity of the plain. After crossing the second of these streams, we began to ascend the high table-land of Kháwah, which is considered to afford the best summer pasturage in Persia. The ground rises very gradually, for the space of about a farsakh, to the high downs which form the grazing-lands, and here the country is certainly very beautiful. It is everywhere broken into knolls, and intersected throughout by rivulets, at intervals of about 300 or 400 yards. The herbage is of the richest possible description; and there were probably not less than 20,000 families of I'liyát scattered about, in small encampments, with their flocks and herds grazing over the downs apparently in countless numbers. To the S.W. of this high table-land is seen the range of Báwalín, rising again, after a short interval, under the name of Sar Kashtí, and from thence prolonged to the Yáftah-kúh of Khorram-ábád. A glen upon the north-eastern face of these mountains of Báwalín contains the tomb of Bába Buzurg, the most holy spot in Luristán; for the common Lurs have no idea of religion farther than the worship of this their national saint.

In the rich and extensive grazing-grounds of Kháwah and Alíshtar, I am inclined to recognise the plains called Nisæan, which were visited by Alexander, from Baghistane,* or Bísutún, upon his march from Susa to Ecbatana. There is no subject, perhaps, which has been treated with more confusion, by the writers of antiquity, than the Nisæan horses and the Nisæan plains. It is evident that the Nisæan horses were a particular breed, distinguished for their size, strength, and beauty, and cherished, therefore, with the most jealous care by the monarchs and nobles of Persia; and yet the blundering Greeks would wish

* Diod. Sic, book xvii, c, xi. Arrian, book vii, c, xiii.

us to believe that they abounded in countless numbers in the great horse-pastures of Media, which they would thence denominate the Nisæan plains. There is every reason to conclude that the Nisæan horse came originally from Nesá, in Khorásán, the Nisæa of the Greeks,* and that it is to be identified with some of the Turkomán breeds of the Atak, which are still distinguished throughout Persia for their superior excellence. It is not impossible even that the breed may have become partially naturalised in some of the royal studs which were pastured in the Median plains; but that the Nisæan horse was the common and indigenous native of these plains, and had increased at one time to the enormous number of 150,000, is opposed alike to reason, and to the circumstantial evidence of the historians.

With Herodotus,† who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisæa of Khorásán; and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion;‡ he describes the great horse-pastures as extending along the whole line of Media, from the road that led from Babylon to the Caspian gates, to that conducting to the same place from Persia, that is, from Bísutún to Isfahán; and thus we at once recognise the great grazing-plains of Kháwah, Alíshtar, Hurú, Sílákhúr, Burbúrúd, Jápálák, and Ferídún, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another, along the southern frontiers of Media. Strabo nowhere says that the Nisæan plains were in the vicinity of the Caspian gates, although his epitomiser seems thus to have understood him; neither does he even apply to the Median pastures the name Nisæan—he merely states that the plains were called Hippobotos, and that, according to the opinion of some, they produced the Nisæan horses.

His name of Hippobotos I suspect to be hellenised from Sílákhúr, which bespeaks its own derivation from Sír A'khúr, a full manger,§ and which is the most extensive and celebrated of all these grazing plains. Alexander, I doubt not, moved from his sultry camp at Bísutún to the Yailák of Alíshtar, which is even now a favourite summer residence with the rulers of Kirmánsháh, and, after remaining a month among the horse-pastures, travelled in seven marches to Hamadán. It was also from these plains, must add, that Python brought in his supply of horses and beasts

* Strabo, p. 509. Isidore, in Hudson, p. 7.

† Book vii. c. xl.

‡ Strabo, p. 525. This passage has been often misunderstood: I follow the translation of the French Academy.

§ The letters *l* and *r* are constantly confused in Persian names.

of burden to the camp of Antigonus,* in the adjoining district of Khorram-ábád, after the perilous march of the Grecian army through the mountains of the Cossæans. We travelled for 4 farsakhs across the rich downs that I have described, and then descended into a hilly country, intervening between Kháwah and Harsín. This was the frontier district of Luristán and Kírmán-sháh; and, as I have now finished my geographical remarks, I will endeavour, before I bid adieu to the province, to give a slight sketch of the manners and general statistics of the tribes that inhabit it.

Luristán is divided, as I have stated, into two provinces, Luri-Buzurg, and Luri-Kuchuk. The inhabitants of Luri-Buzurg are now classed under the general title of Bakhtiyáris, but originally this name merely applied to a small tribe, one of the twenty-six distinct clans among whom the province was divided. The Bakhtiyáris, with their dependencies, number at present 28,000 families; they comprise, exclusive of dependencies, three divisions, the Haft Lang, the Chahár Lang, and the Dínárúnís. Their assessment is fixed at 100 Kátirs (mules), the term Kátir, however, being merely conventional, and used to denote a sum of money; which is increased or diminished according to the prosperous state of the tribes, and the power of the Persian government to exercise authority over them. The institution of this assessment is very ancient, and in the time of the A'tábegs, when the province was in its most flourishing state, a Kátir seems to have been equivalent to 1000 Tó máns—at present it is valued at 100 Tó máns; but the government for many years has been unable to realise this amount, or even, upon an average of 20 years, a moiety of it. The following table describes the general distribution of the clans, and their respective assessments:—

* Diod. Sic., book xix. c. ii.

GREAT DIVISIONS.	TRIBES.	Number of Families.		RESIDENCE.		Assessment in Mules.		Assessment in money; the mule being valued at 100 Tómana.		REMARKS.
		Of each Tribe.	Of each Great Division.	Summer.	Winter.	Per Tribe.	Per Great Division.	Per Tribe.	Per Great Division.	
Haft Lang . .	{ Ullakí and Máí Ahmedí Bakhtiyárvand . . Durakí Sallakí }	400 600 400 2000	. . . . . . 7000	{ Jápalk and Shakúrd Chahár Mahál Burbúrúd }	{ Sar Dasht, & Plains about Dizfál }	5 10 15 10		500 1000 1500 1000		The famous hill-fort of Diz belongs to this tribe. This tribe is under the government of Burújird.
		1000 1500 1000 500 4000	. . . . . . 8000	{ Feridún and about Zardah Kúh }	{ Rám Hormuz, Jániki-Gar- masír, and Plains about Shuster }	6 8 6 8 6	40	6000 8000 6000 8000 6000	4000	
Chahár Lang .	{ Kunúrsí Shúnúí Máimúd Sáléí . . Mogúí Méníwánd Zallakí }	3000 2500	. . 5500	Bázúft	{ Súcan and Máí Amir }	10 10	20	1000 1000	2000	Mohammed Táki Khán, who has all these other tribes under his sway, is a Kunursí.
										Dinádún contains a great number of villages, and a small part only of these tribes are Nomadic.
Dínáruí . . .	{ Báwáí Urak and Sháíuh . . }									In both these divisions half the numbers are Dih Nishíus, who do not emigrate at all.
										Lurdagán, in Jániki-Sardasír, is a very large village; perhaps even it may be called a town.
{ Jániki- Garmasír }	{ Jániki- Sardasír }			{ Hills of Mungasht }	{ Bághi-Malik and about Tul }	. .		. .	2400	This is an Afshár tribe, transplanted into this country by Nádir Sháh. They are notorious thieves.
				{ Gandomán & Lurdagán }	{ Valley of the Kurán }	. .		. .	800	
{ Gunduzí .	{ Gunduzí . }			. .	{ Gulgr and Baitáwand }	. .		. .	1700	
			28,000			100	100		14,900	

* These are probably the Silacenses of Strabo; they are one of the original tribes of Luri-Buzurg, and the name may be derived from Soloce, the ancient title of Solencia or Manjanik.

The main power of the Bakhtiyáris, as will be seen by this table, lies in the hands of Mohammed Táki Khán, the chief of Jánnikí, who is a lineal descendant of 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Bakhtiyári king of Persia, in the times of anarchy that succeeded the death of Nádir. At the outset of his career he was the acknowledged chief of his own single tribe, and he owes his present powerful position solely to the distinguished ability with which he has steered his course amid the broils and conflicts of the other tribes. The clans, one by one, have sought his protection, and enrolled themselves among his subjects; and he can now, at any time, bring into the field a well-armed force of 10,000 or 12,000 men. He collects his revenues according to no arbitrary method, but in proportion to the fertility of the districts, and the prosperous state of his villages and tribes. He has done everything in his power to break the tribes of their nomadic habits, and to a great extent he has succeeded. In Ferídún he has purchased very extensive lands, where he has founded numerous villages, and in the plain of Rám Hormuz, which he farms of the Shiráz government for 3000 Tó máns annually, he has also settled a vast number of peaceful colonists. The Bakhtiyáris pursue a certain extent of traffic. They exclusively supply Khúzistán with tobacco from Jánnikí: they also export a small quantity of grain; and the Isfahan market is furnished, during the summer, with mutton, almost entirely from the Bakhtiyári flocks: the cherry-sticks, for (Chibúk) pipes, which grow in profusion among their mountains, would also prove to them, if steadily pursued, a most lucrative line of traffic. Charcoal, gall-nuts, gum mastic, and the sweetmeat named Gaz, or Gazú,* form the only other exportable articles, I believe, which their country affords.

The Haft Lang tribe, who formerly doubled the number of the Chahár Lang, have been the victims of their never-ending conflicts with each other. For many years, during the reign of the late Sháh, they were the terror of Kafilahs, and at one time, indeed, threatened to put an end to the traffic between the south of Persia and the capital. They have not become in any way divested of their predatory habits, but intestine quarrels have not of late left them leisure to indulge in them. The constitution of the Bakhtiyári system of clanship is quite distinct from that of the tribes of Luri-Kuchuk: in the one, each tribe has its acknowledged chief, who rules over his particular subjects with despotic sway: in the other, the great tribes have no regular head, but

* The Gaz, or Gazú, which is much used for making sweetmeats in Persia, is a glutinous substance, like honey, deposited by a small green insect upon the leaves of the oak-tree. See Diod. book xvii, c. viii. [It is the manna of the chemists. —F.S.]

each petty subdivision is governed by its own Tushmál, and they all meet as equals on great occasions, to discuss their common interests. It is true that Mohammed Tákí Khán has exerted himself much to break the control of these feudal dependents; but the tendency of his system is merely to merge the power that was before separately exercised into the consolidation of his own individual authority. The great wealth of the Bakhtiyáris, as is the case with all nomadic tribes, consists in their flocks and herds. They are naturally most averse to agriculture, and until the last 15 or 20 years they always migrated in a body to the warm pastures of Khúzistán, on the approach of winter, and at the return of spring again moved back to their Yailáks around Zardah Kúh, and along the northern skirts of the great range, from Işfahán to Burújird.

In matters of religion they are lax, but still they are outwardly Mohammedans, and neither respect nor understand the mystical tenets of the 'Ali Iláhís. Their language is a dialect of the Kurdish, but still differing in many respects, and more particularly in their method of pronunciation, from any of the other modifications of that tongue which are spoken by the different tribes extending along the range of Zagros. I believe them to be individually brave, but of a cruel and savage character; they pursue their blood feuds with the most inveterate and exterminating spirit, and they consider no oath nor obligation in any way binding, when it interferes with their thirst of revenge; indeed the dreadful stories of domestic tragedy that are related, in which whole families have fallen by each others' hands (a son, for instance, having slain his father, to obtain the chiefship—another brother having avenged the murder, and so on, till only one individual was left), are enough to freeze the blood with horror. It is proverbial in Persia, that the Bakhtiyáris have been obliged to forego altogether the reading of the Fátihah,* or prayer for the dead, for otherwise they would have no other occupation. They are also most dexterous and notorious thieves; indeed, I have myself seen instances of their dexterity in conveying a horse out of a stable, in an inner court, which was particularly watched, and padlocked, moreover, with a chain, for security, that, unless I had witnessed, I could not possibly have believed. Altogether they may be considered the most wild and barbarous of all the inhabitants of Persia; but, nevertheless, I have passed some pleasant days with their chiefs, and derived much curious information from them.

* The first chapter of the Kórán, used by the Mohammedans much as the Pater-noster was anciently used by us. Most Turkish epitaphs end by the words, "*Fátihah ruhún ichún*."—"Say a Fátihah for his soul."—F. S.

The tribes of Luri-Kuchuk are far more numerous than the Bakhtiyáris; with their dependencies they number 56,000 families. The assessment of the tribes of Písh-kúh is fixed at 120 Kátirs, or mules, but the distribution fluctuates at the discretion of the Persian governor; the tribes of Pushti-Kúh and the dependencies are not included in this arrangement, but have a separate amount of revenue assigned to them.

The valuation of the Kátir varies, as with the Bakhtiyáris, according to the state of the province; but under the late Wazír, Mírzá Buzurg, who administered the revenues with eminent success for about 10 years, it was raised to the rate of 200 old Tó-máns, or $333\frac{1}{3}$ of the present currency; the 120 Kátirs were therefore equivalent to 40,000 Tó-máns, and the amount annually realised from Písh-kúh alone rather exceeded than fell short of this sum. The following table exhibits the classification of the tribes, and the revenue system, as observed by Mírzá Buzurg.

GREAT DIVISIONS.	TRIBES.	SUBDIVISIONS.	Number of Families.		Residence.		Assessment of Great Divisions.	REMARKS.
			Of each Tribe.	Of Great Divisions.	Summer.	Winter.		
Piáh-kúh .	Dilán . .	Kákawand	15,000	}	Kháwáh . .	Hulíán	40,000	The Yiwetiwands and Múmináwands supply at present a body of 350 infantry to the crown.
		Múmináwand			•	Hulíán Dujálí and Kúh		
	Silásilá . .	Ráissawand	15,000	}	Hárisím . .	Rádbár		
		Bijínawand			•	Chárdawer		
Pushiti-kúh .	Báilá Giritwá .	Hasanawand	6,000	}	Alishtar . .	Jádar	40,000	The distribution of this sum of 40,000 Tó-máns varies yearly, and it is impossible therefore to give the details. The 'Amalah tribe, however, who are offshoots of all the other tribes, and were employed by the former Wális as their immediate servants, are very highly charged, the cultivation of the crown lands being accounted in lieu of taxation.
		Kultawand			•	and Seimarráh		
	Fálii . .	Yúsufawand	2,000	}	Kháwáh . .	Pushiti-Kúh		
		Reshnuh Sáki			Táfi, near Khorram-ábád	Kír-A'ub, and plain of Lur		
Pushiti-kúh .	Fálii . .	Dirikáwand	12,000	}	Sar Hurú . .	Kerki, Mángerrah, and plain of Rezá	15,000	The Wáli of Pushiti-kúh has the sole direction of his own revenues, and claims to account personally with the Kirmánsháh government for the assessment of his district.
		Kushki Ziwahdár			Abistán . .	These tribes are Dik Nishins, who cultivate the Khálsah, or crown lands, at Khorram-ábád, Seimarráh, Terlán, and Kúhdasht. They do not migrate at all.		
	Fálii . .	Mirákshúr	12,000	}	Yalláks of the range of Kóbir-kúh, both on the N.E. and S.W. faces.	Sirwán, Jisán, Bádrú, and plains of A'biáddín.		
		Kátíji						
Dependences.	Bájlán . .	Gholám	900	}		Plains of Sús, and beyond the Kerkhah to Deh Luran	2,000	These tribes are refugees of the last century, from the vicinity of Músl. They are lightly taxed, having to furnish a body of 1300 horse to the crown.
		Mo'limad						
	Báiránawand	Rukruk	1100	}	Hurú			
		Zuláh						
Dependences.	Bájlán . .	Kurd	1500	}			3,500	These tribes are now usually included in Kirmánsháh. They furnish 500 infantry.
		Shauhan						
	Báiránawand	Mehaki	2500	}				
		Chahár Sitrín						
Dependences.	Bájlán . .	Dináríawand	1000	}			60,500	
		Sagwand*						
	Báiránawand	'Aliwand	500	}				
		Dushíawand						
Dependences.	Bájlán . .	O'smánawand	200	}				
		Jalálawand						
	Báiránawand	Dájlíawand	100	}				
		Bájlíawand						
Dependences.	Bájlán . .	Surkhámeri	500	}				
	Báiránawand		500	}				

* This is the only tribe of Luristán in whose name any similitude is to be detected to the Sagapeni of Strabo; but as the Sagvand is a stranger tribe, no weight can be attached to the resemblance of the titles.

The sum realised from the tribes thus amounted to 60,500 Tó máns; but the government possessed another source of revenue in the town of Khorram-ábád and the crown-lands scattered over the province, according to the following list:—

NAMES OF DISTRICTS.	Taxation in Money.	Taxation in Grain.	Remarks.
	Tó máns.	Kharwars.	
Khorram-ábád { Revenues of town . .	5000	..	{ This consists of the rent of shops, gardens, orchards, mills, and the customs.
{ crown-lands	2000	2000	
Selmarrah	2000	2000	
Jáidar	1000	500	
Alishtar		1000	
Kúh-dasht	230	200	
Terhán	500	700	
Kír A'b.	100	500	
	10,800	6900	

If we reckon the Kharwar of grain at one Tó máns, which is the usual valuation in Luristán, this will give an addition to the revenue of 17,700 Tó máns, and raise the whole amount which may be annually realised from the province to 78,200 Tó máns. The system of revenue in Pish-kúh is very simple: when the 120 Kátirs have been duly distributed among the tribes and their subdivisions, in a general council, and to the satisfaction of all, each subdivision determines the amount of share to be paid by the different camps of which it is composed, and then the Rísh Safid* of each encampment collects from the different families under his rule, according to his knowledge of their individual ability to contribute. But in a wild country like this, where many of the tribes live in a state of open rebellion, and will not attend to the distribution apportioned by the general council, the governor would certainly fail in his contract with the crown, unless he had indirect means of raising an extraordinary revenue to make up for the many defalcations. Mírzá Buzurg, therefore, introduced an extensive system of fees and fines; and, where robberies and murder were of almost daily occurrence, he did not want opportunities of exaction: indeed, he is said to have realised about 20,000 Tó máns annually in this manner, and that, too, without cruelty or injustice.

Luri-Kuchuk is far more capable of sustaining a heavy taxation than the Bakhtiyáris, for, though agriculture is equally neglected,

* Literally, "grey-beard," the head of each petty encampment.

it has other valuable sources of profit. The principal of these is its breed of mules, which are esteemed by far the best in Persia. It certainly exports on an average 1000 of these animals annually; and, taking the mean price at 20 Tó máns, this alone will give a sum of 20,000 Tó máns of yearly produce. The Iliyát drive a considerable traffic, also, in carpets, hurs, or packing-bags, and all descriptions of horse-furniture: they exclusively supply the towns of Hamadán, Niháwand, and Burújird with charcoal, and their flocks and herds likewise afford them a considerable profit.

The great tribes of Pish-kúh, as I have already mentioned, have no single chief like the Bakhtiyáris; neither, indeed, have the subdivisions in general: some four or five Tushmáls are usually associated in the government of every subdivision; and on great occasions all these Tushmáls meet as equals, and consult; so that their internal constitution, which I believe to be very uncommon among the clan nations of Asia, more nearly assimilates to the spirit of a confederated republic than of a great feudal aristocracy. The Wáli of Pushti-Kúh, alone retains the kingly power of his ancestors. Among the Lurs most of the offices of labour are performed by the women: they tend the flocks, till the fields, store the grain, and tread out that which is required for use. The men content themselves with sowing and reaping, cutting wood for charcoal, and defending their property against the attacks of others. The carpets, the black goats'-hair tents, and the horse-furniture, for which Luristán is famous, are almost all the work of the women. The men seem to consider robbery and war their proper occupation, and are never so well pleased as when engaged on a foray.

The language of the Lurs differs but slightly from that of the Kurds of Kirmánsháh, and a person conversant with one dialect will perfectly understand the other. These dialects of the mountaineers of Zagros have been hitherto assumed by all writers as remnants of the ancient Pehleví; but it appears to me on insufficient grounds: I regard them as derived from the old Fársí, the Farsí-Kadím, as it is called; which was a co-existent, but perfectly distinct language from the Pehleví, in the age of the Sásánian monarchs: certainly the Pehleví, as we read it at the present day, upon inscriptions and in books, does not possess any analogy with the Kurdish, and I doubt if any dialect of it now exists as a spoken language, except among the Gabr colonies, and in a few detached villages of Aзербáiján.*

The religion of the tribes of Luri-Kuchuk is very curious, and well merits to be attentively observed; for, though the foundation of all 'Alí Iláhism is the same, consisting in the belief of a

* In the village of Dizmár, in particular, the vernacular dialect is certainly Pehleví.

series of successive incarnations, yet they have superinduced a number of local superstitions, apparently of remote antiquity. The Lurs do not affect the slightest veneration for Mohammed and the Korán; their only general object of worship is their great saint Bábá Buzurg; but there are also several holy men amongst them, who are considered the living representatives of the divine principle, and who are thus regarded, by their particular disciples, with a reverence little short of adoration. Their sacrifices and their mystical meetings form a subject of much interest; for many of their observances are certainly to be traced to a source long anterior to the institution of Mohammedanism. Macdonald Kinner has noticed the midnight orgies of the Charágh Kushán.* I do not believe that any such rites are observed at the present day, but meetings of this nature were certainly held until within the last half-century; and there cannot be a doubt but that we may recognise in them a relic of the worship of the principles of generation and fecundity, which had descended through the orgies of Mithra and Anáitis, from the time when Sesostris erected the emblems of the sexual organs† as objects of adoration, and Semiramis, delivering herself to indiscriminate pleasure, doubtless intended to fulfil a religious ceremony.‡ I now bid adieu to Luristán and the Lurs, as my space will not admit of any fuller remarks on this unknown and interesting people, and I proceed shortly to notice the remainder of my journey to Kirmánsháh.

The village of Harsín is distant 2 farsakhs from the frontiers of Luristán, at the foot of a long but open pass, which conducts from the high lands adjoining the plain of Kháwah. The village, containing 300 houses, is situated in a well-watered and well-cultivated valley, which, being Khálishah, or crown-land, is farmed for 3000 tó máns annually; there are here some Sásánian remains, which I believe have never been described. The fort in the village is built upon the site of a palace, apparently left unfinished; the foundations, composed of massive blocks of hewn stone, are still in tolerable preservation; several broken pillars and plain capitals are strewn about, and the remains of an aqueduct are also visible. This aqueduct, derived from the spring-head of the river, distant about half a mile, was formed entirely of large blocks of hewn stone, cemented closely together, and enclosing the channel for the water; within the palace it was raised again to its original elevation, forming a prolonged syphon from the river-head, and thus affording a rather curious specimen of the superiority of the hydraulic skill of

* "The putters out of lights"—literally, lamp-breakers.

† Diod. Sic., book i. chap. iv. Herod., book ii. chap. cii. cvi.

‡ Diod. Sic., book ii. chap. i.

Persia in those days over the present works of the same class, which are most imperfectly understood. At the spring-head a large surface of rock has been smoothened, preparatory to the sculpture of tablets, but I could not perceive that any design had been actually commenced; in front of this also a reservoir has been excavated in the solid rock, and at a short distance is seen an immense oblong slab of stone 12 feet high, 6 feet in width, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness, which has been pierced by an arched doorway 8 feet high, and 4 broad, and which was probably intended for the gate of the palace; near the spring there are a great number of hewn blocks of stone scattered about, intermingled with the ruins of the aqueduct, with broken shafts, and with some bases and capitals. The Sásánian ruins in this district of Bísutún are of a perfectly distinct character from those of the same age that are met with in other parts of Persia. The buildings were evidently erected after a Grecian model; they were formed of huge blocks of hewn stone, and were adorned with bases, shafts, and capitals, according to the prescribed rules of architecture. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt the tradition which ascribes them to the age of Khusraú Parvíz, when that monarch returned victorious from his Syrian campaign, and brought with him a great number of Grecian artisans, whom he afterwards retained in his service.

May 27th.—I marched 9 farsakhs to Kirmánsháh; after crossing a rocky range of hills for 2 farsakhs, the road descended to the valley of the Gámásáb river; the ford upon the direct road to Kirmánsháh was not practicable, and we were obliged, therefore, to proceed one farsakh up the river to Bísutún, where with some difficulty we at length managed to effect a passage. In the plain upon the left bank of the river there are some more Sásánian antiquities, which I examined upon another occasion. At a spot called Takhti-Shírín, distant about one farsakh from the ford, there are the ruins of a palace, or fire-temple; a confused mass of broken pillars and large blocks of stone are scattered about on the surface of a large mound, which seems to have been formed of the debris of the edifice; a plain slab of white stone, 8 feet in length and 5 in breadth, lies amid the ruins, but on the side exposed to view it presents no inscription or sculpture whatever. The Kurds, indeed, believe that there is a *ṭelism*,* as they call it, on the other side, but I never met with any one who had seen it; and it would be a work of some labour to dig out the slab, now half imbedded in the soil, and turn it over, so as to expose its lower face. Half a farsakh beyond the Takhti-Shírín is the village of Sermáj, at the foot of the Kúhi-Hársín, on its

* Almost every inscription or sculpture is called by the Kurds a *ṭelism*, or talisman.

northern face, where there are ruins of the same appearance as those at Harsín, but of less extent; a modern mud fort has been built upon the site of the chief edifice, and the hovels around it conceal the greater part of the ruins. Opposite to the great rock of Bísutún are the ruins of a Sásánian bridge, across the river of Gámásáb, of which the buttresses now alone remain; it is named the Púli-Khusraú, and seems to have been built at the same time as the palaces in the neighbourhood. The appearance of the antiquities of Bísutún itself has been described by many writers on Persia, and I need only occupy myself, therefore, with its comparative geography. D'Anville, I believe, first suggested the identity of this place with the Baghistane of the Greeks; and, although this has been sometimes disputed, I shall endeavour to show such evidence as must prove the truth of his position.

We have three ancient notices of Baghistane: one where Diodorus copies the account which Ctesias gave of the arrival of Semiramis at this place, on her march from Babylon to Ecbatana; * the second occurring in the march of Alexander, by the circuitous track of Máh-Sabadán, from Susa to Ecbatana, described by the same author; † and the third, in the itinerary of Isidore of Charax, where he mentions the city of Baptana, situated in the district of Cambadene, between Carine and Concobar, on the high road from Babylonia to Media. ‡ If we assume the identification of the Ecbatana of Media Magna with Hamadán (and, in spite of the objections raised against this illustration, it is, I believe, to be demonstratively proved,) these three geographical indications will unite to verify the position of Baghistane at Bísutún. Semiramis traversed Bísutún in her way to Chaone, or Kangáwar, where she instituted the worship of the generative principle, and erected the magnificent palace, which, in the days of Isidore of Charax, had been converted to a temple of Anaïtis, and of which the ruins still exist. Alexander, also, from Celonæ (Sarwán, or Keílún) pursued the route through the plains to the foot of Zagros, and, there joining the Babylonian high road, proceeded along it to Bísutún, from whence he visited the horse-pastures of Kháwah and Alíshtar. But the evidence of Isidore is the most distinct; I have been able to verify every position, almost every mile of measurement, in his itinerary, from Seleucia to Apobatane, or Hamadán. His Carine is, of course, Kirind, and his Concobar, Kangáwar; and between these intervenes Baptana, or Bísutún. The name of Cambadene, applying to the district, is also to be illustrated, for the tract of country adjoining Bísutún,

* Diod Sic., book ii. chap. 1.

† Book xvii. chap. 11.

‡ Isidore, in Hudson, vol. ii. p. 6.

on the left bank of the Gámásáb, retains to the present day the title of Chamábatán.*

Etymologically considered, the coincidence is even more striking. Bághistán signifies the place of gardens; and the name appears to have been given from the famous pleasure-grounds, ascribed traditionally to Semiramis. Bóstán has the same signification, and is only a contraction of the former word; and the great range of mountains, bounding the plain of Kirmánsháh, and called in the geographers Jabali-Bísutún, preserve in the Táki-Bóstán, at one extremity, the title, which at the other has been corrupted into Bísutún. But this name of Bóstán appears at one time to have been further corrupted into Batán, and thus the Baptana of Isidore is Bá Patán (the common contraction for Beth Patán), signifying the city of Patán, or Batán; whilst his Cambadene, also, is Cham Batán, the river of Batán, which, with a different explanation† for the word Batán, is universally allowed by the Kurds to be the derivation of the title of the district.

The descriptive evidence now remains. The precipitous rock, 17 stadia high, facing the garden, the large spring gushing out from the foot of the precipice and watering the adjoining plain, and the smoothening of the lower part of the rock, all convey an accurate idea of the present appearance of Bísutún; but what are we to say of the sculptures of Semiramis, and the inscription in Syriac characters? There are only two tablets at Bísutún,—the one now nearly destroyed, which contains a mutilated Greek inscription, declaring it to be the work of Gotarzes; the other a Persepolitan sculpture, which is adorned with nearly 1000 lines of Cuneiform writing, exhibiting the religious vows of Darius Hystaspes, after his return from the destruction of Babylon, on the revolt of its Udpati, or Governor, Nebúkadrazzar, the son of Nebúnít.‡ We have no reason to suppose that either of these can represent the sculptures ascribed to Semiramis; for Ctesias, a Greek, could not possibly have misunderstood the Grecian tablet, even supposing that it existed in his time, which is scarcely probable; and, as he lived at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, it is not likely that, in the space of a century after the

* The Greeks having no soft *ch* were obliged to employ *k*; *d* and *t* were used indifferently in the old Persian; and we find the Greek *νν* answering in most names to the modern termination in *an*, as *Ardekán* for *Articene*, *Másabadán* for *Mesobatene*, *Kháwarán* for *Choarene*, &c.

† They pretend that *Cham Batán* means “the river of ducks;” but it is more probable that *Batán* is a proper name.

‡ *Nebúnít* is, of course, the *Labyrinth* of *Herodotus* and the *Nabonid* of the canon of *Ptolemy*; but we are not informed in history of the name of this monarch’s son, who revolted against *Darius Hystaspes*.

death of Darius Hystaspes, the proud memorial of that monarch should have been transferred to the remote ages of Semiramis. Yet Isidore also mentions the statue and pillar of Semiramis, at Baptaṇa : and I am inclined, therefore, to solve all difficulties, by supposing that this sculpture did really exist upon the lower part of the rock, which was scarped by the Assyrian Queen ; and that Khusraú Parvîz, when he was preparing to form of this long scarped surface the back wall of his palace, and for that purpose began to excavate deeper into the mountain, destroyed the sculptures, and removed all further trace of them. With regard to the pillar of Semiramis, it is not a little curious also that an Oriental writer of the 13th century* should describe the rock of Bîsutún, from his own observation, as though it were sculptured into the form of a minárah or minaret. There is certainly, at present, nothing resembling what we should call a pillar or minaret ; but whether a pillar did at one time really exist, or whether the name was improperly applied to the mere smoothing of the rock, there is every probability that the *σῆλη* of Isidore, and the *menárah* of Zakariyá Kázvíní, refer to the same object.

That the ruined buildings at Bîsutún are of the Sasánián age is proved by a capital, sculptured in its peculiar style, as well as by some words in the Zand character engraved on several of the blocks of stone ; and it is on this account that I ascribe to the same era all the remains of a similar class which are met with in the neighbourhood.

I must now mention the Greek inscription of Gotarzes ; and this is so difficult a subject that I shall not pretend to decide on its illustration. The mutilated tablet of colossal figures is well known, from the descriptions of former travellers ; but they do not seem to have paid much attention to the inscription : the only words that can be now made out are—**ΑΛΦΑΣΑΤΗΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΕΡ**, and then, after an interval, **ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠ**, where the inscription is broken off : the words **ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ** are also found in a corner of the tablet. Now *Geopothr* is certainly the Zand compound *Gîvputr*, the son of Gîv ; and we thus recognise the name, famous in Oriental tradition, of Gúdarz Ibn Gîv ; but who this Gúdarz Ibn Gîv may be, it is not easy to say. There are two personages of the name of Gúdarz to whom the tablet may possibly relate ; and I shall briefly state the claims of one and the other. The Gúdarz of Persian fable was a celebrated

* *Zakariya Kázvíní*, in his two works, the *Atháru-l-Buldán* and *'Ajayibu-l-Makhlúqát*.

general during the reigns of Kai Káuś, and Kai Khusraú. He is better known as the father of Gív than as his son; but still I have in one work found him expressly called Gúdarz Ibn Gív;* and such is the name which is always applied to him among the Iliyát of Kirmánsháh, where traditions regarding him abound. The Alphasates of the inscription (*l* and *r* being used indifferently in old Persian) would seem to be the same name as the Arphaxad of the Apocrypha, and the Arfah-zád of the Persians, who is considered identical with Kai Káuś; and the name belongs therefore to a high antiquity. The tablet also, to all appearance, is far more ancient than the sculptures upon the same rock which date from the age of Darius Hystaspes. Against all this it is urged that we have no evidence whatever of the existence of such a hero but Persian fable and tradition; and how a Greek inscription should have found its way into Persia, anterior to, or at least coeval with, the elder Cyrus, it is most difficult to conceive. There are three letters also made use of in the inscription, **Z**, **H**, and **Ω**, which are supposed to have been introduced into Greece by Simonides about 500 B.C., and it is barely possible, therefore, that they could have been employed in Persia to commemorate this general of the Kaiánian monarchs.

The second Gúdarz, to whom the inscription also may relate, is the Arsacide Gotarzes. Josephus declares this king to have been the son of Artabanus,† the founder of the lower Arsacide dynasty; but Tacitus, who is better authority, makes him his brother,‡ and does not mention the father's name, which thus may possibly have been Gív; and indeed this may be the very personage whose exploits have been removed by the Persians to the fabulous ages of Kai Khusraú. Gotarzes, the Arsacide, as I have already shown, appears to have fought his great battle with Meherdates in this plain, intervening between Bísutún and Kirmánsháh; and indeed the very name Mithrates may possibly be the same as the Meherdates of Tacitus, though, as the one name is pure Persian,§ and the other corrupted, this is hardly probable: and, lastly, though I have very little experience in Greek inscriptions, yet the alphabet employed appears to me to be far more conformable to the age of Claudius than to the remote period of Cyrus. The arguments against this illustration are, that the Arsacide Gotarzes is never named Ibn Gív in the Oriental histories; that, as the great king of Parthia, he would

* In the Sharaf Námah.

† Josephus, Ant., book xx. c. iii. s. 4.

‡ Ann., book xi. c. viii.

§ Mihrdád, given by Mihr, Mithra, or the sun.

hardly have taken the inferior title of Satrap of Satraps; and, lastly, that it is impossible for any one, looking at the two tablets together, to believe the Greek one to be five centuries posterior to the other. Perhaps, after all, Gúdarz Ibn Giv may have been neither the one nor the other of these heroes, but a mere provincial governor, who attained some local celebrity; and I believe that there is a satrap of the name of Gotarzes mentioned by the historians of Alexander, though I cannot now refer to the particular passage. At any rate, however, from the great celebrity of the first Gúdarz in Persian romance, the history of this inscription must be an object of interest equally to the oriental and classical scholar.

The distance from Bísutún to Kirmánsháh is 6 farsakhs, the direction being due W. At 2 farsakhs from Bísutún are found the remains of another palace, which I suppose to have been Sásánian: some eight or nine bases and capitals, scattered over the plain, are all that are now to be seen; but the space between the first of these ruins and the last is about 300 paces, and if they belonged therefore to the same building, which is probable from the appearance of the intervening ground, it must have been of very great extent.

The Táki-Bóstán, of which accurate drawings have been published, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ farsakh to the right of the road. The sculpture at this place is the finest in Persia, and is evidently the work of Grecian artists. The Pehléví inscriptions have been deciphered by De Sacy,* and for the last forty-five years his translations have been allowed to stand unimpeached. Owing to the faulty copies, however, which he inspected, he has made many mistakes: four or five words in each inscription are erroneously rendered, and in one he has actually mistaken the name of the king in whose honour the inscription was engraven. The left-hand inscription he concludes correctly to relate to Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf; but the other, which he attributes to Bahrám Kirmánsháh, refers in reality to his brother Shápúr.†

I hope, on some future occasion, to give to the public a more detailed account of the antiquities of this part of Persia than I have been able to embody in this hasty abstract.

* *Ant. de la Perse*, p. 243.

† He has mistaken the name Sháhpúhri for Varahrán.



